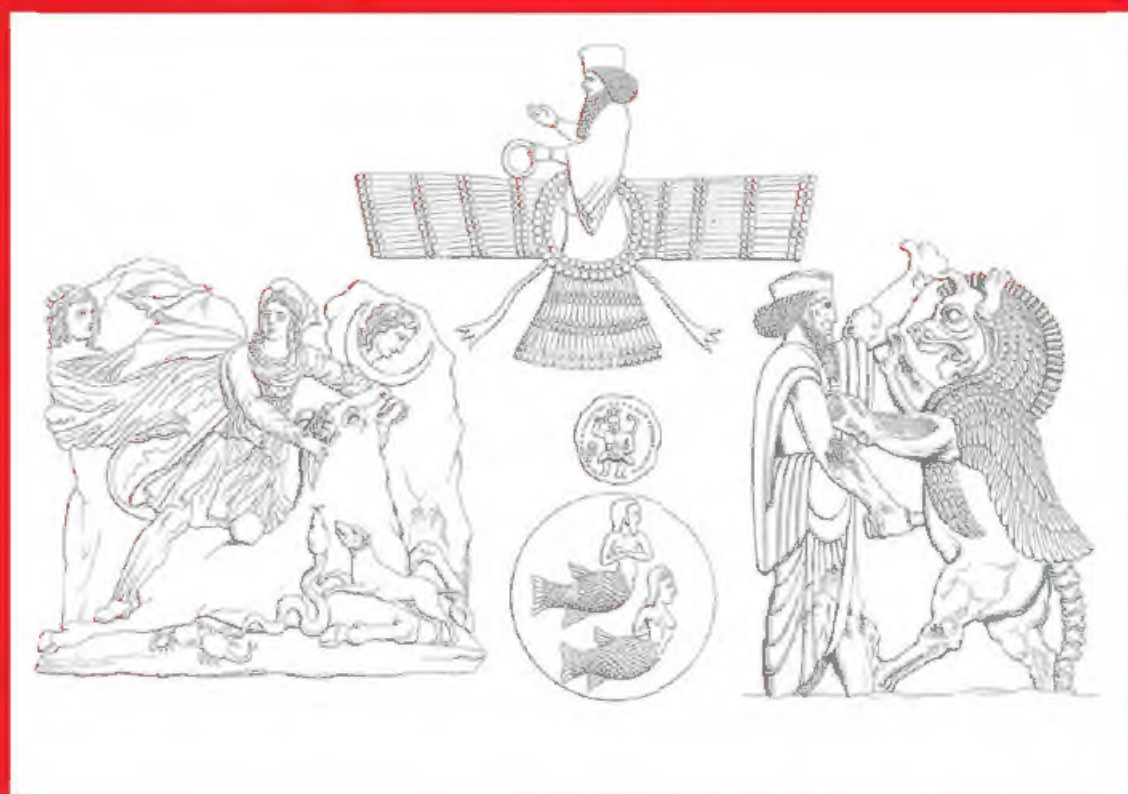


PARSISISM: THE RELIGION OF ZOROASTER



WITH PHOTOGRAPHS

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BOOKS



PARSISM
THE RELIGION OF ZOROASTER

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INTRODUCTION

As *Parsism* we qualify that Iranian religion which has survived from the appearance of Islam until modern times and which is founded upon those traditions and sacred scriptures that supposedly date back to Zarathustra. Its adherents are called Parsis and they live mainly in India. There are, however, also Parsis in Iran, where the word *gābrs* usually is used to refer to them. Our pictorial material deals chiefly with the Parsis in India, but in order to understand their religious ideas it is necessary to take into consideration the full historical development from oldest times until the present.

Zarathustra is the prophet and chief person in the sacred, ritual texts of the Parsis that are summed up in the name of Avesta, which consists of the following main parts: Yasna, Visprat, Vidēvdāt, and the Yašts. Actually, only some of these texts should be regarded as completely genuine testimonies from Zarathustra, namely the so-called Gāthās. These are five in number and are found in that part of the Avesta which is called Yasna. The Gāthās are metrically constructed and of a language more archaic than the rest of the Avesta. Zarathustra speaks in them in the first person. The dates for Zarathustra are difficult to ascertain, but he must have existed prior to 600 B.C. This dating is established upon the fact that the name of the supreme god, Ahura Mazdāh, is post-Gāthic but pre-Achaemenid. In the post-Gāthic Avesta the name is written in two words but in the Achaemenid inscriptions in one word (except for one single inscription). Since the writing in one word ought to be secondary in relation to the writing in two words, we may arrive at 600 B.C., at the latest, as the approximate dating of the post-Gāthic name, that is, a certain number of years before the Achaemenids. Zarathustra and the Gāthās must then belong to a still earlier time than about 600 B.C.

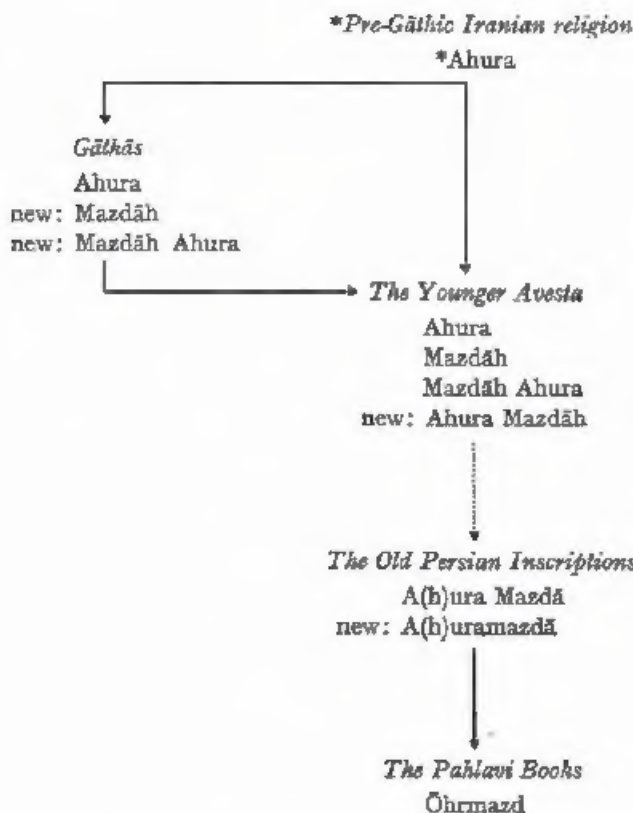
In order to illustrate the earliest developmental history of Parsism we shall present a table of the evolution of the name Ahura Mazdāh through the ages.

This table illustrates the evolution of the name Ahura Mazdāh but at the same time it illustrates the evolution of the religion. We thus have to reckon with 1) a pre-Gāthic, pre-Zarathustran, Iranian religion, 2) a Gāthic, Zarathustran religion, 3) a post-Gāthic, Avestan religion, which we call Zoroastrianism in contrast to Zarathustrism, 4) an Old Persian, Achaemenid religion (558-330 B.C.), and 5) a Middle Persian Zoroastrianism, manifested in the Pahlavi writings and represented by the Sassanid Dynasty (226-651 A.D.). (In this simplified table we have omitted the religion of the Arsacids or Parthians which existed between the Achaemenids and the Sassanids.)

During the first centuries after the fall of the Sassanids and the Islamic conquest of Iran certain Zoroastrians must have emigrated to India, where their descendants still live.

Let us look somewhat closer at the various antecedent phases of Parsism mentioned above.

(1) In front of the words "pre-Gāthic, Iranian religion" I have put an asterisk in order to (as in linguistics) indicate that we do not have any direct sources and that we have to



deduce this religion from what is said in the Avesta. That the word Ahura (with an asterisk in front of it) really has existed in this pre-Gāthic, Iranian religion is evident from some passages in the so-called Younger Avesta (that is, the whole Avesta except for the Gāthās) in which the name occurs, namely in such passages that agree with Vedic religion but not with Gāthic, passages representing a tradition from the Indo-Iranian or Aryan religion. In some passages in the Avesta, Mithra and Ahura are mentioned together as a couple and hence in dualis. In Yašt X, 113 and 145 we have Mithra-Ahura, in Yasna I, 11 and II, 11 we have the order Ahura-Mithra. It is agreed upon that this couple corresponds to the Vedic couple Mitra-Varuna, written in dualis. The word *ahura* can also be used in the Avesta as an appellation or epithet for Mithra and Apam Napāt, and in this case the word corresponds to the Vedic *asura*.

With the pre-Gāthic, Iranian religion we may also include other Avestan deities, heroes, and conceptions that we find in Vedic religion, for example Mithra (Vedic: Mitra), Indra (Vedic: Indra), Nānghaithya (Vedic: Nāsatyas), Saurva (Vedic: Śarva), Verethragna (Vedic: Vritrahan), Vayu (Vedic: Vāyu), that plant, beverage and deity called Haoma (Vedic: Soma), the primeval hero Yima (Vedic: Yama), the word for demon *daēva* (Vedic: *dēva*, but with the meaning "god"), the concept of "all deities", all *yazatas* or all *ratus*

(Vedic: *viṣve devāḥ*) as being 33 in number. Some of these phenomena have—evidently through Zarathustra's reformation—become evil beings in the so-called Younger Avesta and in Pahlavi literature, i.e. in what we call Zoroastrianism. This revaluation has affected Indra, Nānghaithya, Saurva, Vayu (partially), and the word *dāeva*.

(2) The Gāthic religion expresses itself in the five Gāthās which occupy 17 chapters of the Yasna (chs. XXVIII-XXXIV, XLIII-XLVI, XLVII-L, LI, and LIII). These are considered authentic creations of the prophet Zarathustra. His work is a spiritualization and moralization of the pre-Gāthic religion. The French researcher Georges Dumézil has succeeded in interpreting the difficult Gāthās in that direction. In the Gāthās the highest and, in reality, the only god is called Mazdāh (116 times), Ahura (64 times), and Mazdāh Ahura (28 times). There have been yet other possibilities of writing Mazdāh + one or several words + Ahura (24 times) or Ahura + one or several words + Mazdāh (6 times). In six passages Ahura and Mazdāh do occur together and in exactly the same order as in the Younger Avesta. But in *all* these six passages there is a metric pause, caesura, after Ahura. And therefore one cannot say that the supreme god in the Gāthās is called Ahura Mazdāh, and this is important since we herewith discern the difference specified between, on the one hand, the pre-Gāthic and the Gāthic and, on the other hand, between the Gāthic and the post-Gāthic religion.

The name Mazdāh, "the Wise", seems to be Zarathustra's own designation for the supreme god, for this tallies excellently with the tendency that characterizes the names of the Gāthās at large, that is, moralization and spiritualization. This tendency has resulted in the fact that those divine beings who surround Mazdāh have received names that express virtues. Thus we have above all the following beings: Asha (Righteousness), Vohu Manah (Good Mind), Chshathra (Power), Ārmaiti (Suitable Disposition), Haurvatāt (Health), and Ameretāt (Immortality). In Zoroastrianism these six are called Amesha Spentas (Holy Immortal Ones). In the Gāthās as well as later we also find one being who is called Sraosha, "Obedience".

Dumézil has shown that the six entities just mentioned, together with Sraosha, are spiritualizations and moralizations of pre-Gāthic divinities that represent three social functions: Asha and Vohu Manah represent the magical and juridical aspect of the divinities of the function of sovereignty (in India, e.g. Varuna and Mitra), Chshathra represents the function of the warrior (in India, e.g. Indra), and Ārmaiti, like Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, represents the divinities of fertility (in India, e.g. Sarasvati and the twin gods Nāsatyas). And Sraosha, finally, represents the same as the Indian Aryaman and the Avestan Airyaman, that is, a god of the same character as the Vedic Mitra and the Avestan Mithra.

In connection with this moralization and spiritualization of the pre-Gāthic divinities, the earlier designation of the deities, Avestan *dāeva* (Vedic *dāva*), has received the pejorative meaning of evil deity or demon.

(3) *The Younger Avesta* consists of all the Avestan texts except for the Gāthās. The latter ought, then, to be called the Older Avesta, but this is not the case. In the cult the Gāthās have, however, become incorporated with the remaining Avesta, and the whole Avesta therefore constitutes a ritual unity. The texts are always recited by heart and in connection with various ceremonies. We distinguish between four different ceremonies: the Drōn-

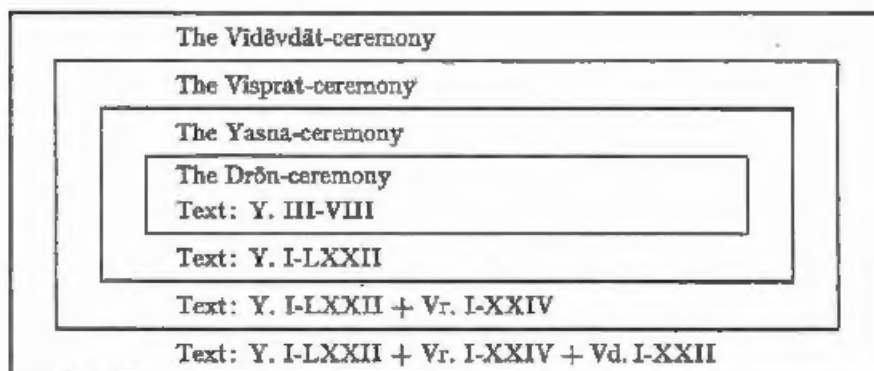
ceremony, the Yasna-ceremony, the Visprat-ceremony, and the Vendidad-ceremony (or the Vidēvdāt-ceremony). These four different ceremonies use three different kinds of texts which originally have been transmitted only orally but which later also have become fixed in writing, at least in the main, without the oral transmission having ceased. The three texts carry the same name as the three major ceremonies, i.e. the Yasna (72 chapters, abbrev. Y.), the Visprat (24 chapters, abbrev. Vr.), and the Vendidad or the Vidēvdāt (22 chapters, abbrev. Vd.).

The text of the Yasna-ceremony consists of the 72 chapters of the Yasna text, but the text of the Visprat-ceremony consists of both the Yasna chapters and the Visprat chapters, combined in a suitable way, and the text of the Vidēvdāt-ceremony consists of the Yasna chapters, the Visprat chapters, and the Vidēvdāt chapters, combined according to a certain scheme.

The combination in the Visprat-ceremony is brought about by the exchange of certain sections of the Yasna text for certain sections of the Visprat text, or by the inclusion of certain sections of the Visprat text in the Yasna text. Thus Y. I, 10 is exchanged for Vr. I, and Y. II, 10 is exchanged for Vr. II, and between Y. XI, 8 and XI, 9, Vr. III is inserted, etc.

The combination in the Vidēvdāt-ceremony consists of the text of the Visprat-ceremony in addition to a couple of chapters of the Vidēvdāt text before and after the five Gāthās.

The relationship between the texts of the different ceremonies may be compared with four so-called Chinese boxes and illustrated in the following figure:



In all the ceremonies, formulae are mentioned several times concerning the patron of the day and month when the ceremony takes place. These formulae are taken from the collection of texts called *Sih-rōčak*, i.e. "The 30 days", which consists of two parts, one with the patrons in the genitive (= S I), and one with the patrons in the accusative together with the word *yazamaide*, "we worship", (= S II).

In addition to the texts mentioned, the Younger Avesta also contains a collection of about 20 hymns called *Yashts*. Each of these hymns is dedicated to a deity, and these deities are for the most part of pre-Gāthic origin (for example, the Sun, the Moon, Mithra, Verethragna, Vayu).

The most important deity in the Younger Avesta is Ahura Mazdāh or Mazdāh Ahura. The name Ahura Mazdāh is a new formation in the Younger Avesta. The name consists, however, of two words which both occur separately in the Gāthās although not together in this order. This circumstance enables us to juxtapose the name Ahura Mazdāh and a long sequence of other new formations of names in the Younger Avesta, formations made up of Gāthic words without being proper names in the Gāthās. To this category belong some key figures, and the most important of them, perhaps, is the antagonist of Ahura Mazdāh, namely Angra Mainyu, the evil power in the world in contrast to the good one who is Ahura Mazdāh himself. It is extremely important that the names of this pair of opposites have been brought about in the same way and evidently in relation to each other. Another pair of opposites, the names of which have been formed in the same manner in the Younger Avesta, is the first righteous human being, Gayamaretan (Pahlavi: Gayōmart), and the last righteous human being, Astvatereta, who is the future Saviour—the Saoshyant *par* préférence. From the fact that the names of both the first and the last righteous man have been created in the same way in the Younger Avesta, it is revealed that the specific, apocalyptic speculations also belong to the Younger Avesta. The idea of a world-history with the two above-mentioned figures marking its beginning and its end is thus found in the Younger Avesta. This circumstance is very important from the point of view of the history of ideas, since Iran herewith can be said to have possessed apocalyptic speculations about a world-history and about an eschatological saviour at the latest about 600 B.C. Hence it is extremely plausible that Judaism and Christianity have been influenced, at least indirectly, by Iranian currents of ideas.

It is not, however, only the idea of the beginning and the end of the world-history that is found in the Younger Avesta. No, actually, a complete world-history is found there, in the middle of which Zarathustra acts as a prophet. And in the Yashts, especially in Yasht XIII, there are many proper names composed of Gāthic words which are not proper names in the Gāthās. And in the other Yashts, especially Yasht V, IX, XV, XVII, and XIX, the worshippers of the deities of the Yashts occur in the same order as in the later history-writing of the Pahlavi literature and in Firdausi's *Shāhnāmah*. This history-writing is, thus, as to its nature apocalyptic. And the whole course of the world is depicted as a combat between good and evil, a combat that the good eventually shall win. On the side of the good we find first of all Ahura Mazdāh and the Amesha Spentas, but later also all those divinities that are called *yazatas*, "worthy of worship", which, however, consist mainly of pre-Zarathustran, Indo-Iranian divinities which have become legalized, although not occurring in the Gāthās. Also righteous men fight on the side of the good, priests and princes as well as ordinary men, along with animals like dogs and other ones. On the side of evil we find above all Angra Mainyu and all the *daēvas*, demons,—which also are partly pre-Zarathustran, Indo-Iranian deities—along with worshippers of *daēvas* and certain animals like snakes, ants, and flies.

We are justified in regarding the cult, which is established upon the four ceremonies mentioned above, as going back to the religion of the Younger Avesta. The purpose of the ceremonies is to promote the eschatological salvation. In them the priests play the roles of both Zarathustra and of the eschatological saviour, and they can be called both Zarathustra and Saoshyant. The climax of the three major ceremonies is the pressing of the haoma, which must be an Indo-Iranian feature preserved in spite of Zarathustra's refor-

mation Zarathustra has, however, in all probability influenced the cult in the way that the former haoma plant which after pressing was inebriant like the Vedic soma plant has been exchanged for a non-inebriant plant.

There is reason to suppose that the present ritual practices of the Parsis derive chiefly from the religion of the Younger Avesta, which itself has received its imprint from both the pre-Zarathustran, Iranian religion and from the Zarathustran, Gāthuc religion. Customs like the initiation (naojote), the tying of the holy cord (kustik) around the waist, the purification with bull's urine (barešnūm), the care, gathering and purification of the sacred fire, the exposure of the dead to carcass-eating birds (and dogs, Vd. VI, 45-46—originally a Median custom according to Herodotos), etc., date back to the religion of the Younger Avesta and possibly still further back, for on these matters one can read in the Younger Avesta.

(4) *The religion of the Achaemenids* About this religion we do not know anything with certainty except by way of their own inscriptions. They have worshipped A(h)uramazdā as the supreme deity from the time of Darius I until Darius III. Most important here is perhaps the fact that this divine name is written and declined as one single word (except in one instance, namely in an inscription from Xerxes I). We have indicated above that this circumstance is of significance for the dating of the Younger Avesta as to pre-Achaemenid times. A(h)uramazdā is such a significant god to the Achaemenids that one almost can speak of a monotheistic tendency. Everything that Darius I undertakes occurs according to the will of A(h)uramazdā. It looks as though the Achaemenids have identified this god with the supreme god of other peoples with the Babylonians' Marduk and with Israel's Yahweh. Thus Cyrus calls himself—although Iranian—"the one by the Babylonian god Marduk especially appointed king", and towards the Jews and their religion he showed such a great benevolence that he is called "The one anointed by Yahweh", "the Messiah of Yahweh" in Is. 45:1. As a matter of fact, Cyrus has most probably taken the original initiative for the last-mentioned title himself, just as he has done regarding the first one. In the Old Testament the expression "the god of heaven" (2 Chron. 36:23; Esr. 1:2, 5:12, 7:12) is also used as a technical term in negotiations between Jews and Achaemenids. This term also fits A(h)uramazdā exactly for he is the one who by these Persians is depicted as flying on the winged sun-disk. (The winged sun-disk existed already long ago in Egypt—for example over all the temple doors—and from Egypt it spread to the Hittites of Asia Minor, to Syria, Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, and finally to Persia.) Modern Parsis, however, deny that the winged sun-disk symbolizes their supreme god, although Western researchers agree on this symbolism.

In addition to A(h)uramazdā the Achaemenids also worshipped, among purely Iranian deities, Mithra and Anāhitā. Inscriptions by Artaxerxes II (404-359) testify to this. According to fragments from the historian Berossos, even idols of Anāhitā were erected under Artaxerxes II.

The detailed description of this beautiful goddess in the Avesta (Yasht V, 126 sqq.) has been interpreted in the way that there must have been a statue of the goddess as a source of inspiration for it. Moreover, Elamitic findings in particular show that an encompassing religious syncretism prevailed during the Achaemenids.

It should be added, beyond what has been said above, that the Achaemenids preserved

the custom—going back to Zarathustra and the Younger Avesta—of designating deities unworthy of worship as *daivas* (Avestan: *daēua*). This is the case in an inscription from Xerxes I, and the very word *daiva* in this inscription has been considered so important that this inscription has received the name of the *daiva* inscription.

In spite of the continuity from the Younger Avesta that is present in the religion of the Achaemenids, these kings cannot be considered faithful and orthodox Zoroastrians. This becomes clear from the syncretism evidenced in the Elamitic inscriptions and also from the forms of burial among the Achaemenids. For the Achaemenids buried their dead in the ground after the bodies had been covered with wax. Thus reports Herodotos. The magis of northwest Media, however, exposed their dead to carcass-eating birds or dogs according to the same author and others after him. This last example also tallies better with the custom of the Younger Avesta. (See above.)

(5) *The Pahlavi writings* are those writings that are written in the Middle Persian language called "Book-Pahlavi". In the main they reflect the religious conditions prevalent during the Sassanid Dynasty (226-651 A.D.), although not recorded or redacted until the ninth century. These writings are not ritual—like the Avesta—but dogmatic catechisms of the Zoroastrian faith. At times these writings are difficult to read and to understand. This is largely due to the fact that one has had only about 14 signs for expressing all sounds. (When the Avesta at a very late date was recorded, about 50 signs were used. The Avesta is, however, primarily ritual and orally transmitted and is actually not yet completely recorded as to each ceremony with its various combinations.) In the Pahlavi literature the highest and altogether dominant god is called Ōhrmazd (or sometimes Yazdān) and his antagonist is called Ahriman or Gannāk Mēnōk. The religion of these writings represents a continuation of the religion of the Younger Avesta. This is Zoroastrianism. It became the state religion thanks to the high mobad—the high priest—Kartēr during the first Sassanids: Artaxšēr I (226-242), Šāhpūhr I (243-273), Hormūzd I (273), Vahrām I (273-276), and Vahrām II (276-293). Kartēr himself has described in an inscription how he carried out his religious program in turning orthodox Zoroastrianism into a state religion, and how he persecuted other religions like Judaism, Christianity, Manicheism, and Buddhism.

The most important Pahlavi writings are the following ones:

a) Pahlavi translations and commentaries of Avestan writings. Such ones exist for most parts of the Avesta, except for some of the major Yashts. It is often the case that we get a phrase or a sentence in Avestan and then this is translated into Pahlavi and may perhaps be provided with a commentary. The translation is a word for word rendering of the original. "This very close adherence to the original construction, together with the inflectional poverty of the Pahlavi language and the use of transcriptions in the case of obscure Avestan words, adds much to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi rendering and makes it clumsy . . ." (N. N. Dhalla, *The Nyaisches* . . ., p. XIV.)

b) The *Bundahišn*, "The Founding" or "The Creation", is a very important cosmogonic, cosmological, and eschatological treatise that claims to reproduce a lost Avestan text from the Dāmdātnask. It exists in two versions: one major, the so-called Iranian Bundahišn, and one minor, the so-called Indian Bundahišn.

c) The *Vidēdādāh i Zātspram*, "Zātspram's Selections", deals in many respects with the same matters as the *Bundahišn* but is not dependent upon it—they both seem to have used the same source. Zātspram was a high priest in Sīrkān in the south of Persia towards the end of the ninth century. He was the brother of Mānuščihr (See below)

d) The *Dāstān i dēnik*, "The Religious Doctrine", is a treatise made up of 22 questions and answers concerning the beliefs. The author was the supreme high priest and pontiff of Pārs and Kirmān towards the end of the ninth century and was called Mānuščihr Gošnjamān. He is the one who gives the answers. Questions no. 14 and no. 15 together with their answers seem important, for in them it is said that both dogs and birds eat the dead body

e) The *Epistles of Mānuščihr* consist of three epistles, of which the third has been composed 881 A.D. by the same person as the preceding treatise. The epistles deal with the Barešnīm purification of Zoroastrians who have become infected by coming into contact with dead matter and who are likely to spread infection.

f) The *Pahlavi Rmāyat Accompanying the Dāstān i dēnik* is a treatise without a proper name of its own. It contains, however, very important material about the creation, beings of primordial times, the Zoroastrian cult, etc. In chapter XXIV, birds, foxes, and dogs are said to eat the dead bodies of the Zoroastrians.

g) The *Mēnōk i Xraī*, "The Doctrine of the Spirit of Wisdom", is a treatise consisting of a series of questions and answers regarding the beliefs. The cosmology and the cosmogony play a major part in it. Scholars have sometimes wanted to characterize certain parts of this treatise as belonging to Zurvanism, a movement that reckoned with one deity called Zurvān, "Time", as superior to Ohrmazd and Ahriman. "The Wise One" asks and "The Spirit of Wisdom" answers in the same way that Zarathustra asks and Ahura Mazdāh answers in the *Vidēvdāt* text and in some Pahlavi writings.

h) The *Artāk Virāz-nāmak*, "the Book about the Righteous Virāz", relates how the righteous Virāz was granted one journey to heaven and one to hell in order to behold how people were recompensed or punished according to their deeds. The cause of this journey is said to be the uncertainty—due to foreign teachings from the time after "the cursed" Alexander—about the correct religious beliefs. For this purpose Virāz imbibes an intoxicant composed of wine and hashish and after this his body sleeps for seven days and nights while his soul undertakes the journey to the other world in company with the gods Ātar ("Fire") and Srōš. He gets to see how the righteous souls happily cross the Činvat-bridge and reach bliss in company with the Dēn, which is a beautiful virgin and personification of the faith and deeds of the pious one. But he also gets to see how the evil soul together with his evil Dēn falls down into hell from the Činvat-bridge which now has become as sharp as a razor blade. The course of the good and the evil soul after death is also described in an Avestan text in exactly the same way, i.e. in *Hādōxt Nask*. Dante's *Divine Comedy* has been compared with the *Artāk Virāz-namak*.

i) The *Dēnkart*, "The Acts of (the) Religion", is a religious encyclopaedia consisting of nine books. It contains, among other things, the precepts of the Zoroastrian religion, instructions regarding this world and the next, a biography of Zarathustra and a history

of the Zoroastrian religion. "But the style in which it is written is neither so smooth nor so simple as that of other Pēhlevī works" (Sanjana, *The Dinkard* I, p. 1.) Several of the authorities quoted in the Dēnkart probably lived during the end of the Sassanid epoch. The third book is apologetic, however, and also polemizes with Islam.

j) The *Bahman Yašt* is an apocalyptic treatise in which Zarathustra (Zartuxšt) asks Ahura Mazdāh (Ōhrmazd) for immortality. He thereupon receives "the mind of omniscience" and herewith sees a tree with four branches of gold, silver, steel, and iron which represent the four cosmic periods. Zarathustra then asks a second time for immortality and now receives "the mind of omniscience" in the form of water. He falls asleep and beholds a vision, a tree with seven branches of different metals. Then Ahura Mazdāh interprets the dream in the way that the seven branches represent seven cosmic periods.

k) The *Ayātkār i Zāmāspik* is also an apologetic treatise presenting the doctrine of the cosmic periods as questions from Guštāsp (Avestan. Vištāspa) and answers from Zāmāsp (Avestan. Jāmāspa).

l) The *Čitak handax i pōryōkēšān* or *pandnāmāh i Zartuxšt*, "A Compendium of the Teachings of the First Teachers or Zarathustra's Book of Counsels", is actually a compendium of Zoroastrianism.

m) The *Šāyast nē šāyast*, "You must ... You must not", is a treatise about what is correct and incorrect regarding the cult.

n) The *Škand gumānik vičār* is an apocalyptic treatise dealing critically with other religions like Christianity, Judaism, Manicheism, and Islam. This treatise is to a large extent also written in Pāzand, i.e. Pahlavi written with Avestan characters. The name of the author was Martān Farrux, son of Ōhrmazd-dāt, and he wrote the book after the middle but before the end of the ninth century.

There are also a good many Pahlavi books that do not deal with religious issues but with law, good manners, and history.

(6) *The Period after the Pahlavi Literature.* We have presented the Pahlavi literature as representative of the Sassanid epoch. This is certainly also correct, although this literature has not been recorded until the ninth century, that is, after the Islamic conquest of Iran. Therefore it ought also to be valid for at least some centuries after the Islamic conquest. Yes, this is probable. For we have also noticed that the Pahlavi writings (the Dēnkart and the Škand gumānik vičār) contain polemics against Islam and hence reflect a post-Sassanid situation.

Zoroastrianism, however, continued its existence in two separate regions: partly in Iran and partly in India. The difference between these two forms is but small. Both represent a continuation of the former religion in, above all, ritual practices.

The sources for our knowledge of the post-Sassanid Zoroastrianism in Iran are, apart from the Pahlavi literature, a number of Islamic authors writing in Arabic or Persian. The most important of these are: Ṭabarī (d. 923), Mas'ūdī (d. 956), Hamza al-Iṣfahānī (whose chronicle was completed in 961), Bal'āmī (whose work was completed in 963), Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (whose work was completed in 966), Firdausī (d. 1020 or 1025),

Ja'ābī (d. 1038), Biruni (d. 1048), Ibn Hazm (d. 1064) the author of *Fārsnāmah* (composed in the beginning of the twelfth century) the author of the anonymous work *Codex Sprenger* 30 (Ahlwardt 9434, composed in 1148) Šahrastānī (d. 1153), Sibṭ Ibn al-Gauzī (d. 1256), and Murtaḍa (who wrote in the beginning of the first half of the thirteenth century). A great deal of the writings of these authors is derived from Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic translation of the Sassanid Book of Kings (*Xwratāy-nāmak*) and some sources dating back to genuine Zoroastrian traditions.

The Islamic literature shows that the Zoroastrians in Iran were fire-worshippers with Zarathustra as prophet. The Avesta was their holy book. They can almost be considered monotheists who believed in Ohrmazd, also called Yazdān, Hūdā, or even Allāh. In opposition to him stood the evil power, i.e. Ahriman, who could also be called Iblis. They believed in apocalyptic ideas about a world-history of 12,000 years originating with Gayōmart. The Zoroastrians identified him with Adam or with a father/forefather of Adam.

From what has been said we may conclude that the Zoroastrians of Iran for the most part have preserved those ideas to which already the Younger Avesta testifies. A certain adaptation to the nomenclature of Islam has taken place, but this has not affected the original conceptions.

Regarding the situation of Zoroastrians in India there are certain vague notices which could be interpreted as evidence for this both regarding the first centuries before the birth of Islam and regarding the first centuries thereafter. But these notices are very vague. We must however, reckon with Zoroastrians in India from much earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. But it is not until about the year 1200 that we get certain and clear documentation. Thus we know with certainty that Neryoseng Dhaval in India translated the Avesta into Sanscrit from the Pahlavi translations around the year 1200. We also know that a Zoroastrian priest by the name of Māhyār at Uch has lived in Punjab around the year 1205 and that he for six years studied with the Zoroastrian priests in Sīstān in eastern Iran, where he had received a copy of the *Vidēvdāt* together with a Pahlavi translation from a man called Ardašīr who had made that very copy (The colophon of the manuscript called K 1 relates this.) These notices show that Zoroastrian religious practices have existed in India from at least about the year 1200. And round 1270-1280 a copyist of the *Yasna*, together with the Pahlavi translation, and of the *Visprat* arrived in Anklesvar (just south of Broach) from Iran. This copyist was called Rustam Mitrō-špān Marzapān and is mentioned in the colophons of the Mss. K 1, K 5, and K 7.

Moreover from the Avesta manuscripts we get to know that no written Avesta text existed in India prior to the text which Neryoseng Dhaval translated into Sanscrit. This implies that no written Avesta existed in India before 1110. (For it was at that time that a man called Farnbag made that copy in Iran which was used for Neryoseng's copy.)

Even if no written Avesta has existed in India prior to 1110, one has still been able to celebrate the Zoroastrian cult there, since one has had access to the oral tradition. If we continue studying the Indian Zoroastrian manuscripts, these inform us to some extent about the spread of Zoroastrianism. Besides the foregoing Anklesvar, the following Indian places are mentioned in the colophons: Cambay (K 5 from 1323, and T 2 also from 1323), Navsari (L 4 from 1323) and Broach (M 51 from 1397). These four places thus indicate that Zoroastrianism, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had spread in Gujarat near Surat. We mention this because it is something absolutely certain.

Of great importance for the subsequent history of the Zoroastrians in both India and Iran are the so-called *riwāyat*-texts. This is a correspondence in Persian between Indian and Iranian priests between 1478 and 1773, in which the Indian priests ask the Iranian priests about various aspects of Zoroastrianism. The Iranian priests most often come from Kirmān and Yazd, while the Indian priests come mostly from Navsari, Broach, Cambay, Bulsar, and Surat. (It was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that Bombay started to be of importance for the Parsi settling. Today Bombay is the most important city for the Parsis.) The letters often deal with various kinds of ritual of which the Indian Zoroastrians had been uncertain and about which they sought certainty from Iran—for example regarding the Kusti, the prayer of penitence for sins, fires and fire-temples, death Towers of Silence, days in connection with ceremonies concerning dead bodies, funeral ceremonies, marriage, women in menses and accouchement, things and actions lawful and unlawful, purifications with bull's urine, various prayers, priests, some liturgical services. These texts also contain Parsi translations of some Pahlavi writings like the *Ménok-ī Kرات*, *Artāk Virāz-nāmak*, *Āyātkār-ī Zāmāspik*, and the *Bahman Yašt*. But also some writings that do not exist in Pahlavi were sent to India, namely the '*Ulamā-ī Islām*' (from about 1300), the *Saddar Naṣr* (first composed in prose and later, about 1515, in verse), and the *Saddar Bundeheš* (from about 1547).

Furthermore, there is a Persian chronicle from about the year 1600 according to which the Zoroastrians' emigration and arrival in India should have occurred already in the eight century A.D. This chronicle is called *Qissah-ī Sanjan* and is written in Persian verse by the Parsi priest Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana. This author bases his views entirely on oral tradition, and the history-writing is still valid for almost as much as 900 years. It is reported that the leader of the Zoroastrians' exodus was called Neryoseng Dhaval (thus with the same name as the above-mentioned translator of the Avesta into Sanscrit who was also a forefather of the author Bahman) and he led his people to Sanjan, where he was nominated *dastūr*, high priest. He brought along a sacred fire which has been tended since then and never gone out. When Sanjan was invaded by a ruler called Maḥmūd, this fire was moved to the mountain of Bahrol near Sanjan, and after twelve years it was moved to Bansda, where it remained for fourteen years more, and then (in 1419 or, according to Modi, in 1516) it was moved to Navsari under the leadership of the three high priests of Sanjan. One of these three high priests, by the name of Nāgan Rām, was a forefather of the author of *Qissah-ī Sanjan*, and therefore we are justified in regarding the note about the removal of the fire to Navsari as historically trustworthy. There are, however, certain difficulties in making the dates tally as given in the *Qissah-ī Sanjan* and therefore the Parsi periodical *Parsiana* states: "Chronology was not Bahman Kaikobad's strong point and one cannot use the *Kisseh* as Modi tried to do, to date events in Parsi history". (H. E. Eduljee in *Parsiana*, Vol. VII, No. 10, Aug. 1971, p. 15.)

In connection with the Sanjan priests' coming to Navsari an opposition gradually arose between them and the priests of Navsari who were called *Bhagaras* since they "divided" their income. The dispute involved their right(s) to perform religious ceremonies: only the Sanjan priests should, according to themselves, be allowed to tend the *Atash Behram*. Other ritual tasks were assigned to the *Bhagaras*. According to one piece of information, the opposition resulted in violence and twelve Navsari priests were taken to Surat and imprisoned. The dispute was eventually settled by law, but since the Sanjan priests lost

they resolved to leave Navsari and take the fire with them. And this is how the fire came to Udvarda in the year 1742 after first having been moved yet a couple of times. And in 1972 "the 1251st anniversary of the installation of the sacred first Atash Bahram in India Iran-shah" was celebrated. Herewith was implied that this fire had been burning since the year 721.

The Navsari priests—the Bhagarias—acquired their own Atash Bahram, however, in Navsari in the year 1765, and thus occurred according to the complicated rules prescribed by tradition and the Vidēvdāt.

Still, there was no peace in Navsari after the Bhagarias' dispute with the Sanjan priests. Five of the Bhagarias' own priests formed a new sect called the Minocheher-Homji or the Kakalia sect, which fought with the Bhagarias about ritual matters. After more than a hundred years of fighting there was, in 1790, "a short lived settlement, assigning to the Bhagarias the duties relating to the living and to the Kakalias the duties for the dead. Although the rigour of the feud has gradually diminished, these sects have not yet fully patched up their differences". (*Highlights*, p. 52.)

The confrontation between Zoroastrianism and Hinduism has in the main been rather mild, to a great extent due to the inherent tolerance in Hinduism. Naturally enough, a Parsi has, however, not been able to reconcile himself with certain Hindu customs, especially not with the burning of the corpse. It is also interesting to notice the negative attitude of the earliest Parsis towards the Hindu gods. This expresses itself, for example, in the Sanscrit translation where the Avestan word *daēva*, "devil, evil demon" (Pahlavi *dēv*), is rendered with the Sanscrit *dēva*, which means "god" with a positive meaning in Hinduism. In modern times the opposition between Hinduism and Parsism is not quite as strong, for in Parsi homes one can meet with pictures of Zarathustra as well as of Shiva, Krishna and Lakshmi. This is explained as a courtesy towards the Hindu servant staff. The mutual tolerance has probably also been promoted by the religious policy of Emperor Akbar.

The great Moghul emperor Akbar (1556-1605) attempted to unite Islam, Hinduism and Parsism into a religion he called "Dīn-i Ilāhī" or "Tauḥīd-i Ilāhī" in the year 1582. In this synthesis the elements of Parsism actually became predominant. This is something which generally has not been sufficiently observed. We would like to mention some facts which testify to this Parsi predominance.

a) Akbar abolished certain important Islamic customs like the five prayer hours, the fast, the pilgrimage, and the Islamic calendar along with the celebration of Muslim festivals. He also disdained knowledge in Arabic, in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in Quran exegesis (*tafsīr*), and the science of tradition (*ḥadīth*). At the same time Akbar allowed that which was forbidden in Islam, for example wine drinking.

b) Akbar did not call his religion "Islam" but *Dīn-i Ilāhī* "The Divine Religion", or *Tauḥīd-i Ilāhī* "The Divine Monotheism". He also introduced a formula of renunciation reading thus "I, So-and-So, renounce the untruthful and false *Dīn-i Islām* which I have seen and heard from my forefathers, and I enter Šāh Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī*".

c) Akbar introduced a new calendar, *Ta'riḫ-i Ilāhī*, in which the months and the days carried the Zoroastrian names. Also the years—counted as beginning with 1582—received Zoroastrian names, namely the same names as the months, and when twelve years had passed a new cycle began with the name of the first month.

But of greatest importance in this issue are the apocalyptic ideas. There were apocalyptic concepts from three different religions that applied in the times of Akbar: the Islamic (Šī'ite), the Hindu, and the Zoroastrian. All three preached that a world period was nearing its end and that a new period was soon to begin. It was then a thousand years after Muhammad and time for the hidden imam to reveal himself according to certain Šī'ite ideas. But the Indians, too, expected this world period to end and a new and better one to begin. And we possess New Persian versions of apocalyptic Pahlavi writings found in the rivāyat texts which circulated in India in the time of Akbar. In these one reckons with millennia and the last millennium is characterized by the Arab supremacy. After this the Saōsyant—the eschatological saviour—was to come. Akbar must thus have changed time computation after having considered the old period as ended. The circumstance that he in this connection resumed the Zoroastrian names for months and days shows that he believed in the assertions of the Zoroastrian apocalypse about the Arab supremacy during the last millennium but no longer. Then the Arab supremacy, as well as Islam, would come to an end and a new religion would arise, and this new religion had its own time computation just like the other religions (Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism).

d) Akbar is said to have been a fire-worshipper and a sun-worshipper, and fire-worshippers from Navsari visited him and instructed him in Zarathustra's religion. Since then he always kept a sacred fire in his palace. It is also reported that Akbar wore the Zoroastrian *kusti*, the sacred cord, around his waist. According to Zoroastrian custom, this cord shall be tied and untied many times a day, and one shall then always recite some specific prayers and turn towards the sun, if visible, or else towards a fire.

e) Akbar's importance to Parsism also resulted from his nomination of Meherjī-Rānā in Navsari as high priest over all the Parsis in India. This office still exists, since the sixteenth descendant of the chief appointed by Akbar is high priest in Navsari and also bears the name of Meherjī Rānā. There are, however, other high priests who also have ambitions of being archbishops. (About Akbar's religion, cf. *Badā'uni* II.)

After Akbar the situation for the Indian Parsis became worse, especially during the fanatic Muslim ruler Aurangzēb (d. 1707). At that time the Parsis often had to conceal their religion in order to avoid persecution.

The Parsis to a great extent lived in Gujarat and spoke also Gujarati, but their written language was a special kind of Persian, usually called Parsi, which did not contain as many Arabic loan-words as did common Persian. As a written language they began to use Gujarati at first in order to translate the Persian Rivāyats but from the middle of the nineteenth century they also translated the Avesta, based on the Pahlavi, Sanscrit, and Persian versions. Thereafter one also translated a number of other Persian texts into Gujarati, for example Zartušt-nāmah, Jāmāspī-nāmah, and Ardā Virāfi-nāmah; the two last ones had originally been written in Pahlavi. Later a great many other Zoroastrian books were also published in Gujarati—liturgical instructions, prayer-books, edifying literature, etc. Even newspapers were published in Gujarati. The earliest one appeared in 1822 and is called Bombay Samachar. English has been almost as important a language as Gujarati. There is a great deal of literature about and for Parsis written in English by Parsis. There are prayer-books (with the Gujarati text on the left page and the English

text on the right page, for example), edifying books, books for teaching, scientific books and essays by learned Parsis, etc. The Indian Parsis have to a great extent adopted Western science even concerning their own history, religion, and language. And they have often been studying as well as teaching at European universities.

The following but rather incomplete list may be given of such researchers: Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Maneckji, Nasservanji Dhallā, Jamshedji Maneckji Unvala, Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabbar, Kavasji Edalji Kanga, M. F. Kanga, Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, Behramgore T. Anklesaria, J. C. Tavadia, and Firoze M. P. Kotwal. The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in Bombay is a center for Parsi research, named after "a Parsi pioneer of the Iranian Studies on Western lines in India, who had studied the Avestan texts in Europe under the German savant Spiegel". (M. N. Dhallā, *History of Zoroastrianism*, p. 487.)

The Western influence on Parsism is quite obvious. They often call Ahura Mazdāh "God" or "Lord", which is probably a rather adequate rendering of their idea of "god". There is an English translation of a book in Gujarati by J. J. Modi, namely "A Catechism of the Zoroastrian Religion" (1911 and 1962), in which one can observe the greatest points in common between Parsism and Christianity. A couple of quotations may illustrate this: "The Religion reveals a path of our life in this world and teaches us our duty (1) to God, (2) to others and (3) to ourselves". (p. 1.)—"The prophets have appeared in various countries at different times and in different circumstances; and they have revealed their religion according to divine knowledge received by them. Hence more than one religion in the world". (p. 1.)—And as a summary of this catechism we can read "A Zoroastrian should hold the following axioms as true and should believe in them

- (1) He should believe in God as the Creator and the Ruler of the universe, and he should prefer that He is the source of all good.
- (2) He should believe that the soul is immortal and that there is spiritual life after death.
- (3) He should believe that he is answerable to Ahura Mazda for his deeds on the principle of 'As you sow, so will you reap' ". (p. 42.)

It is significant that this quotation concludes with a word inspired by Paul (Gal. 6:7). But a Zoroastrian must also know the following: "The Zoroastrian religion of Ahura-Mazda is the greatest, best and excellent of all religions that exist and that shall, in future, come into existence" (p. 39). Here follows the question: "Now, how are we to act towards other religions and the professors of those religions? Answer: With a firm and earnest belief in our own religion, we must behave with forbearance, toleration and respect towards the professors of other religions" (p. 39.) The last-mentioned is perhaps not directly inspired by Christianity but more probably by Hinduism. One could perhaps characterize Parsism in the same way as one researcher has characterized the Old Scandinavian religion in its encounter with the Christian mission: Tolerance of faith in combination with exclusiveness of cult. (H. Ljungberg.)

This tolerance of faith finds many different kinds of expression. One example of this is the very well-known and highly esteemed Dastur Khurshed S. Dabu of Bombay. In his creed one can detect influences from many different quarters, perhaps especially from theosophy. He believes in metempsychosis and in the idea that several Zoroasters have existed through the ages. He also has points in common with Sufism and with Indian asceticism. As a matter of fact, he represents a continuation of a kind of Parsi mysticism

that began during the times of Emperor Akbar with Dastur Azar Kaiwan (1533-1618) as a leader of a sect that called itself Yazdāniyān, 'the adherents of Yazdan (- God)'. They possessed their own writings like the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, "The School of Religious Creeds", and the *Dasātir*, "the Dasturs". In spite of his great tolerance, Dastur Dabu is an active follower of the Zoroastrian cult although he at times interprets it spiritualistically and allegorically.

A peculiar feature that has gained prevalence among many modern Parsis, of which Dastur Dabu is one, is the very early dating of the historical Zarathustra. This feature, strange enough, originated with the Parsis' contact with Greek sources via Western science. The Parsis claim to represent the oldest of the extant religions, since their prophet Zarathustra is supposed to have lived about 8000 years ago or more exactly according to J. C. Katrak, 8600 years ago. The factual basis for this early dating rests on certain Greek authors, above all Eudoxos of Knidos who says that Zarathustra lived 6000 years before Plato. H. S. Nyburg, however, has shown that the number 6000 is a mystical number to be interpreted according to Iranian speculations about the eons. Plato is conceived of as the reincarnated Zarathustra and is the apocalyptic Saviour with whom the eon achieves its completion and termination.

There are still some other movements among today's Parsis. They are, for example, not quite in agreement about the time for New Year's Day celebration. Actually, the issue was raised already in the seventeenth century, for in Burzo Kamdin's collective *Rivāyat* from 1637 there is a letter from an Iranian dastur addressed to two Indian dasturs, one in Broach and one in Navsari. This letter, dated 1635, reads as follows. 'The dasturs of Persia had heard that there was a difference of a month between them and the Zoroastrians of India. If they have blundered, that was the time of correction as the millennium after Yazdagard had ended. They should avoid all blunders and contaminations (*ālayash-na*) till the time of the coming of Behrām Verjāvand, whom they expected in 1011 A.Y.' (DHR I, p. 10.) Thus one had recently passed the turn of a millennium after the enthronement of Yazdagard (633), and therefore one could now expect the final time, the eschatological time. Further in the letter other signs are mentioned, namely famine and plague (in 1631) which caused increased mortality, and much misery and calamity for the Zoroastrians in 1630.

The cause of the discrepancy between the Iranian and the Indian Zoroastrians' calendars was due to the fact that they had not intercalated in the same way. The Zoroastrian year consists of 12 months, each of 30 days, and 5 intercalary days. The solution was to save the six remaining hours per year for a full intercalary month every 120 years in order to keep New Year's Day in place. But this intercalary month had not been observed in the same way in Iran and in India. Therefore there was a difference of a month between the Zoroastrians of Iran and those of India.

This calendar issue was reactivated during the eighteenth century when an Iranian priest, dastūr Jamasp arrived in India and discovered that the Indian New Year's Day was a month behind the Iranian one. This discovery caused some Indian Parsis to adopt the calendar based on the practice of Iran, and these were called *Qadimis*, "followers of ancient practice". The other Parsis were called *Shahanshahis*, "followers of the Persian kings". A rather considerable antagonism arose between these two movements. During a certain time not even marriages took place between them, and there are even reports on

how they used external violence against each other. (A Shahanshahi had even kicked a Qadimi lady so that she had a miscarriage. The culprit was sentenced and executed for this by hanging in 1783, despite his denying the crime. His followers, however, looked upon him as a martyr) (Highlights, p. 54.) The antagonism between the Qadimis and the Shahanshahis has decreased, however, during the course of time. Remnants of the conflict are to-day manifest in their publishing one newspaper each: the Qadimis publish Bombay Samachar (founded in 1822) and the Shahanshahis publish Jam-e Jamshed (founded in 1832).

A third movement from the calendar dispute arose most recently. Members of this movement wished to have a permanently fixed day for the New Year's Day festival. Its adherents are called Faslis (*fasl* = "season"), and they celebrate New Year on March 21st while the Qadimis celebrate on the 19th of August and the Shahanshahis on the 19th of September. There are people who celebrate all three in addition to the 1st of January. The Faslis do not have many followers in India but more in Iran, especially in Teheran and Kirman (according to Mary Boyce), where these calendars were more closely adapted to the Iranian calendar, which was valid until 1978. (*Zoroastrianism*, p. 218.)

A perhaps more serious conflict has arisen between a movement that has tried to create—and has perhaps already realized—something they call the Zoroastrian Reformist League and other Parsis. With the help of newspapers, pamphlets, lectures, and meetings, this movement has been trying to change much in the Zoroastrian cult, especially the exposure of dead bodies to vultures in the Towers of Silence and purification with bull's urine, but also other things. They have claimed their motives to be based on hygiene but also on the sublime spiritual teaching that characterizes the Gāthās of Zarathustra and which should represent the original, Zarathustran religion. Orthodox Parsis have polemized much with this new movement and turned down its arguments.

In the year 1971 the number of Parsis in India was 91,266, of which 64,000 resided in Bombay. In Pakistan there were 3,200 Parsis in 1961. In Iran the Zoroastrian population amounted to 18,000 in 1960, of which 6,500 lived in Teheran, 700 in Yazd, and 3,700 in Kirman. It is, however, lamentable that the Zoroastrians in both India and Iran decrease in number. This is to a large extent due to the fact that the preponderance of Parsi opinion is heavily weighted against intermarriage. But "the number of marriages between Parsis and non-Parsis is increasing". "Marriages of Parsis with women of other communities are only given a limited recognition in the community. The children of such marriages are accepted conditionally, but not, however, the mothers, who remain foreign to the community. Parsi women who marry outside of the community, however, are categorically excluded and are therefore—along with their children—lost to the community" (Kulke, p. 45.)

EXPLANATIONS OF THE PLATES

Plate I. Zarathustra

a) There are many representations of Zarathustra. This is the most common one in modern India. You find it at the entrance of fire-temples, in Zoroastrian homes, in religious books, etc. Zarathustra is dressed as a priest, in a loose gown-like dress of white linen, a linen belt round the waist, and a white turban. He has also a sort of linen shawl or broad collar, and the band of his turban hangs down.

b) Illustration from Minocheher Hormasji Toot, *Practical Metaphysics of Zoroastrianism*. To the left Kai Lohrasp, to the right Zarathustra, who stands on a globe, has a halo around his head and a bull-headed mace in his left hand. When the priests are initiated, they carry such maces—but in their right hand. (Cf. plate IV c and XXII a.) The fire altar seems to be that of an Atash Behram. (Cf. plate XXI a.)

Plate II. High Priests

a) We received this picture from the present High Priest at Navsari. (Plate III a.) It occurs also in the programme of the 375th Death Anniversary of the first Dasturji Meherji Rana in 1967. The Zoroastrians of Navsari elected him High Priest in March 1579 in recognition, it is said, of his services to the community in having gone to Emperor Akbar's court at Delhi, and having explained to that king the principles of Zoroastrian religion. Emperor Akbar, according to traditional accounts, was converted to Zoroastrianism and put on *sudreh* and *kusti*, and when the Parsi priest left his capital, he gave him 200 Bighas of land in Navsari. Meherji's death occurred on the 1st of November 1591 after twelve years in office as Head Priest. (Cf. the legend to plate II b.)

b) This picture occurs on the frontispiece of the book published on account of the 1251st Anniversary of installation of Sacred Iranshah Atash Bahram at Udwarda in 1972. You find it also in the Special Supplement of the paper *Jam-e-Jamshed* of March 25th 1972 where they celebrate the same anniversary. Although they don't say it explicitly, the context indicates that the picture now represents Dastur Nariyosang Dhaval, who is said to have established an Atash Bahram on reaching Sanjan in India coming from Iran A.D. 721. Atash Bahram is the most important form of Sacred Fire. (Below, legend to plate VII a.) In the Anniversary Volume J. P. F. Shroff says (p. 107) "It is said that when the Iranshah was first consecrated, all the fires required from the various sources were secured and in addition Dastoor Nariyosang Dhaval was able to secure from the Ninth Heaven (the sky of Neptune) the heavenly fire by securing a lightning through magnetic powers of his prayers from the heavens to ignite the block of sandal wood and this is what makes the Iranshah unique as an object of veneration, it being regarded as an inseverable link between material world and the heavenly force above."

It is evident that it is the same priest on plate II a as on plate II b. Both pictures have probably been copied from a third one, showing both the fire (as on plate II b) and the barrier and the shoes (as on plate II a).

Plate III High Priests

a) This is the 16th High Priest at Navsari since Emperor Akbar. It seems that only High Priests wear gold-embroidered stoles. (Cf. below, plate XXVI and XXVII)

b) The documents derive from Emperor Akbar appointing the High Priest of Navsari Head over all Parsis in India.

c) Dastur Khurshed S. Dabu was in 1972 High Priest of Wadia's Atash Bahram in Bombay (Below, plate XXI a) Sir Rustom P. Masani says in the foreword to Dastur S. Dabu's book "Message of Zarathushtra" thus (p. III) 'Among the few religious preceptors of the Parsi community Dastur Dabu occupies the most exalted position'. He has been faithful to his own religion and its cult, but theosophy and occultism afford him what he believes to be a clue to the esoteric interpretation of the ancient lore and significance of several Zoroastrian doctrines and rites. I asked him about his opinion as to the age of Zarathushtra, and he answered that there had been many Zarathustras. He also writes 'surely Zarathushtra had lived on earth often, before he was to be selected to be a Divine Messenger'. (*Message of Zarathushtra*, p. 72.) He also means that he has discovered the doctrine of rebirth in the Gathas.

Plate IV. Priests

a) Ervad Peshotan Framarz Peer is headpriest of Jijibhoy Dadabhoy Agiari, Colaba, Bombay 5, and the statue represents the person after whom the temple has been named. The Parsis are religiously divided into five different classes:

1) *Behdin*, "one of the good religion", is a layman, who does not belong to the priestly class.

2) *Ōstā* (avest. *hāvishta*-), "a disciple", is a member of the priestly class who has not gone through the degree of priesthood. (A lady of the priestly class is spoken of as *ōstā*.)

3) *Ervad* (or *Erwad* pahl. *herbad* or *ehrbad*, avest. *aēthrapaiti*) is a person of the priestly class who has gone through the first degree of priesthood.

4) *Yaodādāhregar* (pahl. *yōdādāsrkar*) is a person of the priestly class who has gone through the second degree of priesthood.

There are thus two grades of priestly initiations, the *nāvar* and the *martab*. The *nāvar* does not entitle a priest to perform the Yasna, the Vidēvdāt, and the Bāj ceremonies, and he cannot officiate at the purification ceremonies of *nahn* and *bareshtūm*. In order to qualify himself to do so, he must go through the *martab* initiation.

The word *mobad* is now applied to all Parsi priests.

5) *Dastūr* is a High Priest but may also be a courtesy-title.

b) The photo is taken in Jijibhoy Dadabhoy Agiari in 1972. The band of the turban has been damped in water. When it gets dry, the turban becomes firm. A priest ought to have his head covered, especially in or near a fire-temple. This rule is applicable also to laymen. Our Parsi cicerone in Bombay (Dr. Dhalla) covered his head with a handkerchief approaching a fire-temple. (Cf. Modi, p. 144 f.)

c) We have received this picture from Mrs. Makki R. Patel, Bombay

Plate V. Laymen

a) Mr. Hormuzdiar D. Choksi, Navsari, shows us how to drink water in the right Zoroastrian way, i.e. without touching the cup with the lips.

b) Mr. Muncherji N. Cama (with the typical head-covering worn by laymen) and his son Rustom Muncherji Cama together with a visiting lady in the office of the famous paper (Below, plate XLVIII b.)

Plate VI. Statues of famous Parsis

a) In Bombay there are many statues of famous Parsis. Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit was an outstanding figure in the field of commerce, industry and charity as well. He was a pioneer in the industry of cotton spinning and weaving mills in Bombay and is said to have converted this city into the Manchester of the East. For his benevolent deeds he was knighted in 1887 and made a Baronet three years later. The Bomanji Dinshaw Petit Parsi General Hospital (plate XLVII a), established in Bombay in 1912, stands as a lasting tribute to the philanthropic munificence of Dinshaw's second son Bomanji (1859-1915). The whole family Petit was called "petit" by the French because of the short stature of one of their members during the 18th century (*Highlights*, p. 68 f.)

b) "Dealing with the first meeting of the Congress in 1885, Nehru says: "One name towers above all others—that of Dadabhai Naoroji who became the Grand Old Man of India and who first used the word 'Swaraj' (self-government) for India's goal." He was the President of the Congress on three occasions, 1886, 1893 and 1906, a record broken only by Jawaharlal Nehru by one occasion. Dadabhai's masterly work 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India' opened the eyes of the world to the extent to which India was bled white by the British rule. In his fight for his country in England, he deemed it necessary to enter the House of Commons as a Liberal and carry on his campaign there, and he was the first Indian to be elected to Parliament (1892-1895). In the history of the British Parliament three Indians have been elected to it by British voters, and all three have been Parsis . . ." (*Highlights*, p. 91 f.).

c) Together with Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji he took part in the first meeting of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and in the struggle for India's freedom in a non-violent manner (*Highlights*, p. 91 ff.)

d) He represents the "charity" which many Parsis regard as the main characteristic of their religion. This statue stands near a sanatorium from 1873 in Bombay.

Plate VII. Fire Temples

a) The photo is from the book "1251st Anniversary of Installation of Sacred Iranshah Atash Bahram", Bombay 1972. In this fire-temple the fire, called Atash Behram, is the oldest sacred fire in India. (See p. 12). There are three grades of fire temples: 1) those with an Atash Behram, 2) those with an Atash Adaran, and 3) those with a Dad-gah, which are also called Dar-e-Meher (the court of Mithra).

In the first grade of fire temples, the fire can be fed only by a priest who has gone through the second degree of priesthood, the *martab*. In the second grade of fire temples, it can be fed by any priest. In the third grade of temples even a layman can feed it (Modi, p. 219)

1) The Atash Behram is a sacred fire collected from 16 different fires: 1. fire used in burning a corpse, 2. the fire used by a dyer, 3. the fire from the house of a king or a ruling authority, 4. that from a potter, 5. a brick-maker, 6. an ascetic, 7. a goldsmith, 8. a mint, 9. an ironsmith, 10. an armourer, 11. a baker, 12. a brewer, 13. a soldier, 14. a shepherd, 15. fire produced by atmospheric lightning, 16. the fire from the house of any Zoroastrian. (Modi, p. 201, cf. Vd. VIII, 73-96.) It takes over a year to carry out the rites necessary for the consecration of an Atash Behram. 'Fire from a thunderbolt igniting dry wood in a forest is essential . . . even if one has to wait for long. For example the lightning-fire for the Bombay Wadiji Atash Behram was brought from Calcutta'. (Dabu, *Message* . . . , p. 114.)—The different stages of the consecration of an Atash Behram are the following ones (Modi, p. 201):

1. Collection of the 16 fires.
2. Purification of the 16 fires.
3. Consecration of the 16 fires.
4. Union of the 16 fires.
5. Consecration of the united sacred fires.
6. Consecration of the temple itself.
7. Enthroning the united fire.

No other light is tolerated or allowed to glow near the sanctum of an Atash Behram. (Dabu, *Message* . . . , p. 113 f.) But in fire-temples of lower degree there is no prohibition against other lights.

"There are only eight such first-grade firetemples in India (four in Bombay two in Surat, one at Ududa, and one at Navsari). They have usually got third grade shrines (and sometimes second grade ones also) attached to this Atash-Behram". (Dabu, *Message* . . . , p. 118.)

2) The Atash Adaran is a sacred fire collected from four principal kinds of fire, i.e. from 1. the houses of the priestly class, 2. the military class, 3. the agricultural class, 4. the artisans, tradesmen, and manufacturers. The stages of the consecration of an Atash Adaran are the following ones:

1. Collection of the 4 fires.
2. Purification of the 4 fires.
3. Consecration of the 4 fires.
4. The final consecration of the united fire.
5. The final enthronement. (Modi, p. 226 ff.)

"It takes about a month to consecrate and install this class of altar" (Dabu, *Message* . . . , p. 118 f.)

3) The Atash Dad-gah is the ordinary fire of the household. "There is no special process of collection for it. Again, there is no special purification. The principal function is the consecration of the Temple where it is to be deposited". (Modi, p. 229.) "All grand rituals are performed near this altar". (Dabu, *Message* . . . , p. 119.)

b) There is a notice of this sort at the entrance of most Indian fire-temples. But thanks to special circumstances and kindness from certain Parsis we have in spite of this got some inside pictures for this publication. That it may be well understood the text is written in four languages: English, Gujarati, Hindi, and Urdu.

Plate VIII. Fire Temples

a-b) In this temple the sacred fire was installed in 1765 A.D. The fire in censers and the sun are usual motifs in connection with fire-temples. The winged disk and human figure which we can see especially in plate VIII b is originally from Egypt where it occurs above the doors of the temples, but we find this motif also in Asia Minor, Syria, Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, and in Persia. Western scholars have interpreted the human figure with the winged disk in Persia as Ahura Mazda. But the Parsis deny this. One of their savants says thus: "It must be here noted that the Parsi tradition has never known and does not know images of Ahura Mazda and that the learned men of the community have already rejected the western interpretation of the winged human figure. The first lithographed pictures drawn in imitation of the bas-reliefs of Naqshe-Rustam known to the Parsis are of the first half of the nineteenth century" (Unvala in Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, p. 504.) The same scholar also writes. "This motif, which is found only on the tombs of Naqshe-Rustam, is copied in recent years by Parsi architects on facades of several new fire-temples of Bombay and of some other Parsi centres in the Gujarat merely by way of decoration". (Unvala, p. 505.) Here on the facade of the Atash Behram temple of Navsari under the winged human figure we also see a man with a bow praying in front of the fire and the sun. It is almost an exact copy of a detail from the relief above the tomb of Artaxerxes II. The temple ornaments are thus more recent than the fire in the temple.

Plate IX. Fire Temples

a) The fire of this temple was installed in 1897. It is situated near the junction of Princess Street and Gurgaum Road in Bombay.

b) This temple is situated near Kama Athornan Institute. (Plate XLII XLIV.) For its well, see plate XVIII a, for its bareshnum-gah, plate XIX a.

Plate X-XI. Fire Temples

Thus dare-Meher is situated Causeway Road, Fort, Bombay 1. It is surrounded by the buildings of a large Parsi colony, Cusrow Baug (plate XLVI b). Above the entrance there is the winged human figure, and at both sides of it there is a winged genius with human face. We recognize here an influence from the winged creatures, which stand at the gate-house of Xerxes I at Persepolis. (The Assyrian influence on these enormous Oldpersian figures is also evident.)

As to the winged human figure above the entrance it should be noted that its right hand (visible on plate XI a) points upward, to the heaven (We find the same gesture at Behistun and in Persepolis.) The Parsis have probably interpreted the figure in question as the Fravashi of Zarathustra and not as Ahura Mazda. (Cf. the legend to plate VIII a-b.) For Zarathustra himself is often represented in the same manner, with his right hand directed upwards. (Above, plate I b.)

Plate XII. Fire Temples

a-b) This temple is situated New Marine Lines, Bombay 1. It belongs to the Fashis, i.e. to those who celebrate the New Year on March 21st. (See p. 16.) Its chief priest was in 1972 Dastur Minochehr-Komji.—At the entrance we meet the same two sphinxes which

we have seen on plate XI a-b. Near the top there is the winged human figure with the same gesture as on plate XI a.

Plate XIII Fire Temples

a-b) This temple is situated near Cowasji Jehangir Colony, Tardeo Bombay 34. We find many archaisms in the ornaments here. At both sides of the entrance for example there is a procession of eight persons comparable to the guardsmen in the Persepolis monuments.

c) This small square building is situated in front of Maneckji Sett Agiari, Bazaar Gate Street Fort, Bombay 1. It represents perhaps the best example of archaisms in Parsi architecture. We have here a cuneiform inscription, which is a quotation from Darius, Naqš-e-Rustam inscription A, line 43-45, and runs: *adatar, asdā bavātiy Pārsahyā marti-yahyā dūray arštāš pa rāgmātā*, 'then shall it become known to thee, the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far'. (Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 137-138.) The text speaks about the countries *far away* which King Darius held, but the word "far" signifies here in Bombay of course "India".

Plate XIV. Towers of Silence

a) This is one of the towers of silence at Navsari where there are five of them. The Parsis lay down corpses in such buildings to be devoured by birds, by vultures. This is a very ancient method of disposal of dead bodies. Already Herodotus states that the Magi of Media used to do so.

b) This plan is from Modi, p. 238. It is a ground-plan of a tower of silence.

Plate XV. Towers of Silence

a) There are some such small buildings in the compound of the towers of silence at Navsari. A sacred fire is kept burning there day and night. (Modi, p. 69.)

b) This prayer-hall is in the compound of the towers of silence at Navsari. Such halls are constructed at least thirty steps away from the tower. (Dabu, *Message*, p. 124.)

Plate XVI. Sacred White Bulls

a-b) Plate XVI a represents the bull belonging to Banaji Atash Behram (junction of Thakorewar and Queen's Road, Bombay 2), plate XVI b is a photo of the bull at Navsari. Dastur Dabu writes about the sacred bull as follows. "For each diocese under a high-priest a sacred bull is consecrated and maintained for ceremonial purposes . . . A pure-white bull has to be selected, without any blemish or physical defect. It should have not a single black hair, and so all parts (tail, eye-brows and eye-lashes) are carefully checked. The skin should have no dark coloured patch. After selection, it is dedicated to the temple. Prayers are offered for about a week, and a few of its hairs clipped. Thereafter it is well-tended, and from time to time, whenever needed, its hair is sent out to subordinate temples within the diocese. As already mentioned, the hair (because of lack of pigment) is colourless, presumably a sort of hollow tube. The theory is that Zarathushtra's *Nirang* or

mysterious force is accumulated or condensed therein". (*Message* . . . , p. 155) In the Yasna ritual there is a ring-condenser over which the sacred bull's hair is wounded.

But the sacred white bull also gives the urine which the Parsis use in their purification ceremony called *baresnum*. There is a special ceremony to collect this urine. Two priests make "ceremonially pure, two large water-pots—one larger than the other—two small water pots, and a cup that would cover the large water pot. All these pots are metallic". (Modi, p. 242) Then they 'go with one of the small pots before the sacred bull and collect his urine in the pot. Having collected his urine, they collect the urine from a number

of other ordinary uncastrated bulls. The work of collecting the urine must be finished some time before sunset. When it is so finished, one of the priests performs the *paragnâ* ceremony

in the afternoon-period of the day. Then the *Vendidâd* ceremony is performed at midnight. The vessel containing the urine of the sacred white bull and of other uncastrated bulls is placed between the *Alâtgâh*, i.e. the slab of stone on which the sacred

utensils for the performance of the ceremony are placed, and the censer of fire . . . The priests then recite the *Vendidâd*, the recital of which together with the accompanying ritual lasts for about 7 hours. This final ceremony consecrates the urine which is then known as *nirangâin*, i.e. the consecrated urine". (Modi, p. 243)

Plate XVII XVIII. Wells adjoining Fire Temples

There is always at least one well adjoining a fire-temple. "In all liturgical services, it is enjoined, that the utensils before being used, must be made *ṣāḍ*, i.e. ceremoniously purified . . . Pure clean water is fetched from a well in utensils previously cleaned and washed. Well-water only is used, water drawn from pipes is not permitted. For this purpose, all temples are provided with a well. A priest . . . goes to a well . . . and draws the water himself. Water drawn for the first and second time is rejected. It is the water that is drawn for the third time that is considered to be sufficiently pure for the ceremony. He carries this water to the chamber or place where the liturgical ceremonies are performed, and, with it, makes *ṣāḍ*, the utensils to be used in the liturgical service". (Modi, p. 253 f.) The utensils are filled up to the brim with water and then the priest utters one formula three times and another formula once and pours additional water so as to let it overflow the brim. In the interval of each formula he mutters in a suppressed tone names of three holy seas and of one holy river, i.e. *Ardisur*.

A Parsi can also pray at such a well (Plate XVIII b.) There are also wells which are independent of temples and where the Parsis make their prayers. (Plate XLI a-b.)

Plate XIX-XX. Baresnum-gah's

The *baresnum-gah* is the place for the *baresnum* purification. It ought to be in a less frequented place and in a place away from religious places which are frequented by people, at least 30 steps from fire, 30 steps from the *barsam*, and 30 steps from the righteous man. But the places I have seen, however, have been in the neighbourhood of temples, but certainly much more than 30 steps from them.

There are at least two types of the *baresnum-gah*, one older described in Vd. XI, 1-11, and one modern. The older one is on plate XX a, the modern one on plate XIX and XX b-c. Plate XIX a is from Andheri, where we have seen the purification realized (below, plate XXVIII-XXX), plate XIX b is from Navsari. The difference between the two

types is that the older one has but 9 pits or holes in the ground, whereas the modern one has replaced the pits a) by large stones or b) by sets of 5 small stones each and with the intervening sets of 3 small stones each as plate XIX a (= a) and plate XIX b and XX b-c (= b) make clear

Before every purification the furrows round the stones are to be drawn as on plate XX a-c. (Plate XX b is from Dabu, *Message* , p. 137, and plate XX c from Modi, p. 119.) But originally the *baresnum-gah* was from North to South. (Peshotan D. Anklesaria, *The Direction of the Arrangement of Stones in the Barašnûm Gâh in Iran and India* Sir J. J. Zarthoshti Madressa Centenary Volume Bombay 1967 P. 162-163)

Plate XXI. The Fire Altar

a) From Dabu, Zarathushtra and his Teaching, p. 40. I have Dastur Dabu's permission to publish this picture.

b) From Varenne, Zarathushtra, p. 95, where the author says that it represents "service du feu dans un temple mazdéen en Iran" I am not quite sure that it is an Atash Behram, but I think so, as there is no work table for the instruments used in the Yasna ceremony. (In Iran there is an Atash Behram at Yazd.)

Plate XXII. Sacred Implements in a Fire Temple

a-c) The interior is from Jipbhoy Dadabhoy Agari, Pilot Bunder, Colaba Bombay 5. The head-priest of this temple, Ervad Peshotan Framurz Peer, has the bull-headed mace, which he received when he was initiated into priesthood. (Plate a.) On plate b and c we see a sceptre and a sword, which are symbols for the war against evil, and they belong to the temple itself

Plate XXIII. The Interior of a Fire Temple

a) From the same temple as XXII. It is a room with an empty work table and a bell in the corner. Bells are tolled (to expel evil thoughts, words and deeds) only in Atash Behram temples and in Atash Adaran temples, not in a Dar-e-Meher or ordinary temple.

b) From the same temple as XXII. It is a cult room with the work-table, the fire-altar and other things arranged as on plate XXIV a. The fire is burning though the temple is under repair. I was not allowed to enter this room, so Ervad Peshotan Peer was kind enough to take the picture for me.

Plate XXIV. The Interior of a Fire Temple

a) From Modi, p. 255.

b) From Ervad M. F. Kanga and N. S. Sontakke, *Avesta. The Sacred Scripture of the Parsees Part 1. Yasna & Visparat*. Edited in Devanāgarī Script. Poona 1962. The picture is placed between p. 269 and p. 270. This is a most valuable representation of the interior of a fire-temple. In order to understand the context it is necessary to quote the explanatory notes:

"The seat of the Chief Priest ... is not shown. It is just behind the work table on a raised platform. A fringe of the carpet is just visible.

A Reservoir of Consecrated Water *Zor* The vessel is known as *Kundi*.

- B: A pitcher of water on a stand. It serves to wash the hands of either of the two priests *zot* and *raspi*, when necessary.
- C: Two blocks of marble over which sandal-wood chips and incense are placed, later to be deposited on the Altar Fire.
- D: Dish containing sacred bread (Darun) It has been already consecrated at the stage of 8th Hā, when it was on the work-table. The illustration shows the disposition as at Hā 27.
- E: The throne (. . .-xvān) of the sacred Fire (Dadgāh) which is solemnly washed at the beginning of the 1st Hā by the *Zōt*. . . Symbolically the rite resembles washing the feet of the Deity to be installed on the altar.
- F: The Fire-Censer. The Fire is fed with wood and incense.
The stool near the window is the *Rāspi*'s seat, though he has often to leave his place to carry out functions assigned to him.
The ledge of the window has a stock of sandalwood-chips, also tongs and ladle
- G: The Niche (Tākh) contains an oil-lamp, a box of Haoma-twigs and reserve stock of Para Haoma.
The work-table proper which is of marble is so arranged as to show the position of apparatus at Hā 27
- (1) The pair of tripod stands with crescent-shaped tops (known as Māh-rue moon shaped). Between the two poles is laid the *Baresma*-bunch of wires. This bunch is tied with a girdle made of palm-leaf strand known as *Aivyaonghan*. This girdle keeps the bunch of 21 wires together and at the same time connects the bunch with one of the horns of the Māhrue facing the Fire; one of such wires (not clearly visible) is deposited between the tripod lower legs.
 - (2) Saucer containing milk in sacred water known as *jiuām*. Another wire is placed over this saucer.
 - (3) The mortar (Hāvani) and Pestle (Lala) used for pounding pomegranate (*urvarām*) twigs along with Haoma-twigs to prepare the extract for sacrament. The pestle is also used for tolling bell-like sounds (a) to exorcize (*snathāi*) evil influences and (b) to proclaim the victory of Divine elements over our lower nature.
 - (4) The knife (Kapia) used for preparing the girdle of the *Baresma* and also for cutting twigs from the pomegranate tree and a blade from the palm-leaf, before the ceremony at the Para-Yasna stage.
 - (5) Contains consecrated water (Zaothra)
 - (6) Contains ring-condenser (*Vares-angushtri*) immersed in water. The bull's hair & ring have not come out in the photograph.
 - (7) Saucer used to take water out of the *kundi*.
 - (8) The cup containing consecrated Haoma-sacrament is below the saucer with nine holes (*Surākhdār-Tashta*). This saucer is a sort of filter for refining Haoma extract poured from the mortar.
 - (9) The covered cup containing *Para-Haoma* reserve of sacred Haoma-juice

Plate XXV. Liturgical Instruments and the Text

a) Groundplan for the arrangement of liturgical instruments

b-c) From Avesta. Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen. Herausgegeben von Karl F. Geldner, Stuttgart 1895. Tafel I

Plate XXVI-XXVII a. Naojote and Kusti

These plates show the initiation of a Zoroastrian child into the fold. The Naojote ceremony is that of investing a child with the sacred shirt, called *sudreh* and the sacred thread-girdle, called *kusti* known respectively in the Avesta as *Vastra* and *Aswvaonghans*. It corresponds to the confirmation of the Christians. The minimum age at which this ceremony can be performed is fixed at seven but it can be performed at any time up to the age of fifteen.

The *sudreh* is made of pure white cotton cloth. It should be put next to the skin and there shall be no other garment under it. Being always white and pure it is symbolic of simplicity, purity and stainlessness in life. Below the neck it has a small pocket symbolizing a pocket of good deeds.

The *kusti* is made of a white lamb's wool. Seventy-two threads are woven together to a *kusti*. A little before the time of the ceremony proper, the child is made to undergo a sacred bath, a kind of ritual purification.

The ceremony begins with the officiating priest placing the *sudreh* in the hands of the child. (Plate XXVI a.) He then recites the *patet* (the prayer of repentance) along with the other assisting priests and the child. Then, both the officiating priest and the child get up and recite before the fire and the lamp the confession of faith. Then the officiating priest invests the child with the *sudreh* while reciting the prayer *Yathā Ahā Vairyo*, in which recital all the Zoroastrians present join. (Plate XXVI b and c.)

Then facing the East in the morning but the West in the evening the officiating priest and the child recite the *nirang* : *kusti bastan* (the sacred formula of tying the *kusti*) in which they praise Ahura Mazdāb and denounce Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). During this recital the officiating priest invests the child with the sacred thread girdle, the *kusti*, passing it round its waist three times with two knots in the front, reciting one *Yathā Ahā Vairyo* at tying of each knot and two at the back, during the recital of one *Ashem Vohu*. (Plate XXVII a.) Another recital of prayer covering the articles of faith is recited by the officiating priest and the child, and with this recital the ceremony is concluded. And now the child is regarded as a Zoroastrian". (Most of what is said above is taken with some minor corrections from a little book called *The Naojote Ceremony of the Parsis*, without author but published by J. B. Karani's Sons, Fort, Bombay.)

Modi says (p. 177) "It is enjoined, that, excepting the time of bathing a Zoroastrian must always wear the sacred shirt and thread. The thread is to be untied and retied during the day on the following occasions. (1) immediately after leaving bed in the morning, (2) every time after answering a call of nature, (3) before saying prayers, (4) at the time of bathing; (5) before meals".

Plate XXVII. Naojote and Kusti

b) Mr Hormuzdiar D. Choksi was kind enough to arrange for ten women from Navsari to meet in his home in order to demonstrate step by step how the *kusti* was fabricated. (For details, Modi, p. 174.) The priest to the right has to consecrate the thread. (Modi, p. 174 f.)

Plate XXVIII-XXX. The Bareshnum-Purification

We follow Modi's description, p. 82-149. There are four kinds of purification, all of them connected with this religion: 1) daily purification of the exposed parts of the body only,

2) purification of the whole body on certain occasions (such as *naojote*, marriage etc.) with the help of a priest, 3) the *baresnum*, 4) purification after contact with dead bodies.

The original object of the *baresnum* (according to Vd.) seems to be to purify those who had come into contact with a worse form of unpurity, for example a close contact with the dead. Nowadays, the professional corpse-bearers go through this ceremony. The *baresnum* is also necessary for a person who wishes to be initiated as a priest and for a priest when he wants to officiate in higher ceremonies.

There are two priests functioning in this purification. Their requisites are 1) consecrated urine of the bull, 2) consecrated water, 3) consecrated ash of the sacred fire *Atash Behram*, 4) two potsful of water, 5) two metallic cups, 6) the leaf of a pomegranate tree, 7) two sticks having nine knots (one of these two sticks has a metallic spoon at one end tied with a *kusti*)

The priests, the requisites, and the candidate have been prepared in advance by some preliminary purifications, and the furrows of the *baresnum-gah* (above, plate XX a-c) have been drawn. Then the real *baresnum* can begin. One of the priests places the spoon-end of the nine-knotted stick (which he holds in his right hand) on the candidate's head, and the candidate places his left hand over the spoon. (Plate XXVIII a.) The priest then recites some formulas and takes a little of the bull's urine in the spoon "and drops it in the hand of the candidate (who applies it to his whole body.) He repeats this three times". (Modi, p. 126.)

In earlier times it was more complicated. The application of the bull's urine began with the head and went on downwards and ended with the tip of the toe. Modi says (p. 127) "in modern practice, the priest drops the *Narang* (i.e. the bull's urine) in the hands of the candidate three times at each pit". The other priest advances during the ceremony with a "four eyed" dog, the left ear of which the candidate touches when he passes from one pit (or stone or set of stones) to another.

At each one of the first six stages the candidate is purified by the bull's urine, but then, at the seventh stage, by mere sand and finally (8th to 10th stage) by consecrated pure water. At each stage there are special recitations. (See the explanation of plate XX b.)

Plate XXXI. Liturgical Ceremonies

a) From Dabu. Message of Zarathushtra, p. 117. The *Bui* ceremony is 'the ceremony of keeping the fire always burning, by feeding it with fragrant wood'. (Modi, p. 218.) It is performed five times every day, but the way in which this is performed depends on the three different kinds of fire temples; see the explanations of plate VII. Plate XXXI a points out the eight different positions in which the priest stands with a metallic ladle in his hand reciting various prayers. This perambulation occurs after the priest facing the east, south and west has fed the fire. (Modi, p. 218-225.)

b) From Varenne, p. 95. There are three priests acting as *zot*, officiating priest. They have the same ritual requisites as on plate XXIV a.

Plate XXXII-XXXVIII a

The celebration of the *Yasna*, the *Visprat*, and the *Videvdāt* have much in common. (See p. 4.) We can't give here but some glimpses of them, in most cases as we saw them performed as exercises in the Kama Athornan Institute thanks to its Principal, Dr. Kotwa.

Plate XXXII. The Inner Liturgical Ceremonies

a) "The fire is kindled in the censer or vase, and the *atśma* (fragrant wood) and *bui* (frankincense) are placed on the two adjoining small stones". (Modi, p. 288.) I don't know why the officiating priest has not got the mouth-veil (the *padān* or *panām*) over his face as is usual.

b) The zot makes the *kundi* containing all the utensils pure by filling it with pure water

c) The zot cleans and purifies the work-table after having made his two hands pure. (Modi, p. 257.)

Plate XXXIII. The Inner Liturgical Ceremonies

a-b) Details in the preparation of the Haoma juice.

Plate XXXIV. The Inner Liturgical Ceremonies

a c) After the ceremony of preparing and straining the Haoma juice the priest who is now to act as chief officiating priest, as zot, enters the sacred place. Holding a water-pot containing pure water in his right hand, he makes his left hand pure, reciting the Khshnao-thra formula (Y. O. 14) (Plate XXXIV a.) Then putting the hand thus purified into the pot so as to hold and lift it, he makes his right hand pure. (Plate XXXIV b.) Then he goes near the square stone slab on which the fire-vase stands, faces east and looks towards the fire. He then recites praise or homage to Fire and then takes the *Bāj* with the Khshnuman of (i.e. dedication to) Fire. Then, reciting at the end three Ashem Vohu-prayers, he washes, with the pure water of the water-pot in his hand, the slab on which the fire-vase stands (Plate XXXIV c) He turns round the slab proceeding at first to the south, then to the west, then to the north and then back to the east and washes it from all sides. (Modi, p. 300 f. and 293 f., Kanga-Sontakke I, p. XLIV f.)

Plate XXXV. The Inner Liturgical Ceremonies

a-b) The priest who has now entered the *yazishn-gāh*, the place for the ceremony, and who is to recite the whole of the Yasna text by heart, mounts the stone slab which serves as seat. He recites the prayer *Yathā Ahū Vairyo* twice. While uttering the word *shyaotha-nanqm* of the first recitation he places his right foot over the seat (plate XXXV a), and, while uttering the same word of the second recitation he places his left foot there. (Modi, p. 294.) (Plate XXXV b, After that the two priests ought to be standing (and originally only on their left foot), while the zot recites the first chapter of the Yasna. (Also below, plate XXXVI b.)

c) The priests remain standing during the second chapter. "In the early part of this chapter the zot makes several passes with the Barsam held in his hands through the crescent curves of the *Māhrui*, i.e. the crescent-shaped stands of the Barsam". (Modi, p. 304.)

Plate XXXVI. The Inner Liturgical Ceremonies

a) After the first two chapters the zot takes his seat on his stone-slab.

Plate XXXVII. The Inner Liturgical Ceremonies (The drinking of the Haoma)

a-d) When the zot is reciting Y. XI, 8, the raspi makes his hand pure, and, coming to the zot, lifts the cup containing the Haoma juice from the stone slab (XXXVII a), and carries it round the sacred fire burning on the censer on the slab opposite, at the same time taking sandalwood and frankincense from their stone slabs and placing them on the fire. (Plate XXXVII b.) He then comes back to the zot, and, holding the cup over the *barsam-dān* or *māh-rui*, says to the zot, "May the Haoma juice be of twofold, threefold, ninefold efficacy to you". Next he hands the juice-cup to the zot (plate XXXVII c), who, holding it in his hand, looks into it, again utters a few words of praise, and prays that the drinking of it may bring spiritual happiness to him. Finally, he holds up his padān, or cloth veil, away from his mouth and drinks the Haoma, in three draughts. In the interval between the draughts the raspi recites an Ashem Vohu. (Plate XXXVII d.) (Modi, p. 295 f.)

Plate XXXVIII. Liturgical Ceremonies

a) After the drinking of the Haoma juice the ceremony goes on.

b-c) The Āfrinagān ceremony can be performed not only in a temple but in any ordinary or private house or place, and it may be performed by any priest. (Our pictures are from exercises in Kama Athornan Institute in 1972.) The zot and the raspi sit on a carpet. In front of the zot there is a tray containing the myazd, i.e. fruit, flowers, milk, wine, water, and syrup. There is also a fire with a ladle and tongs. (Modi, p. 354-384.)

Plate XXXIX. The Outer Liturgical Ceremonies

a) The celebration of an important event in a solemn way with liturgical services is known as Jashan. There are many sorts of Jashan. Plate XXXIX a is from the Ābān jashan in the neighbourhood of Navsari in 1972. About 40 priests are assembled in a tent near a river on the day Ābān of the month Ābān. Many Parsis are there too, especially ladies who say prayers on the bank of the river in honour of Ābān (i.e. Anāhitā) who presides over water. (Modi, p. 428-437.)

b) The New Year's day is also a jashan, Naoroz. There are different opinions as to the exact date of this festival. (Above, p. 15 f.) This plate is from the outside of the Fasli temple Petit or Fasli Agiari. (Above, plate XII a-b).

Plate XL. Other Ceremonies and Customs

a) The photo was kindly offered by Mrs. Makku R. Patel. For details see Modi, p. 14-48.

b) The two Zoroastrians are Mr. and Mrs. Merchant, Bombay. They have a private fire altar, a small lamp, and a picture of Zarathustra in front of them during their prayers at home.

Plate XLI. Bhikha Behram Well in Bombay

a-b) This is a well without any direct contact with a fire-temple. But there are almost always Parsis praying there, tying and untying kusti, etc.

Plate XLII-XLIV. Kama Athornan Institute

This Institute was started in 1922 for giving education to the sons of the Parsi priestly class. Thanks to the kindness of its Principal, Dr. Kotwal it has been able for us to take photos of many Zoroastrian ceremonies, when the future priests have been training.

Plate XLIII. Kama Athornan Institute

- a) They learn to recite Avesta by heart. The teacher is Mr. Anklesaria.
- b) The teacher in Pahlavi is the Principal of the Institute. He has himself made studies and researches in Europe and has written eminent works on Iranian philology and religion.

Plate XLV. Parsi Activities

a) From S. F. Desai, *The Parsi Panchayet*, Bombay 1963, p. 36. The Parsi Panchayet is situated 209, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Fort, Bombay 1. It is an old institution. "Today its motto is to serve, its main function to maintain and manage funds and properties specially established for religious and charitable purposes, to ameliorate the condition of poor Parsis in general and to do such other acts and things as may be directly conducive to the well-being of the Parsis at large". (S. F. Desai, p. 8.) The Panchayet has one administrative unit and one welfare unit. We find under the welfare unit: eleemosynary help, old people's homes, libraries, educational institutions, annuals and journals, health service, etc.

- b) There is always much to do here.

Plate XLVI. Parsi Activities

a) The Institute is situated 136, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay 1. It "was established in 1916 to perpetuate the memory of the renowned oriental scholar, social reformer, educationist and public spirited citizen, Kharshedji Rustomji Cama". . . "The Institute houses an extensive Library containing 14,675 books and 1,674 manuscripts on a variety of subjects dealing with Oriental studies". The Institute has published many valuable books and also a special journal. (Schroff in *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, Golden Jubilee Volume, Bombay 1969.)

Plate XLVII. Parsi Activities

a) The whole name is The Bomanji Dinshaw Petit Parsi General Hospital. It was founded in 1912.

- b) The Centre was founded by Mrs. Makki R. Patel.

Plate XLVIII. Parsi Activities

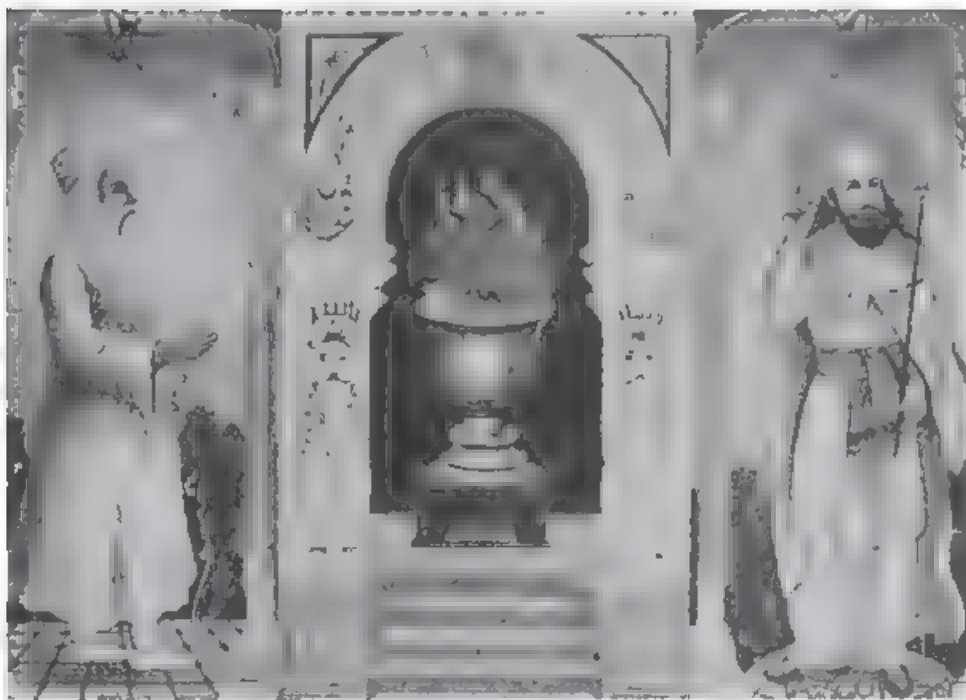
a) This Madresa is a famous high school at Navsari. It was founded in 1857. Many great Indian persons have got their education here. There have been usual school classes but also Avesta and Pahlavi classes.

b) The Bombay Samachar was the first newspaper in Bombay in Gujarati. It was started in 1822, and of all the early Indian language newspapers in the whole country this paper alone survives till today. (Cf. also plate V b.)

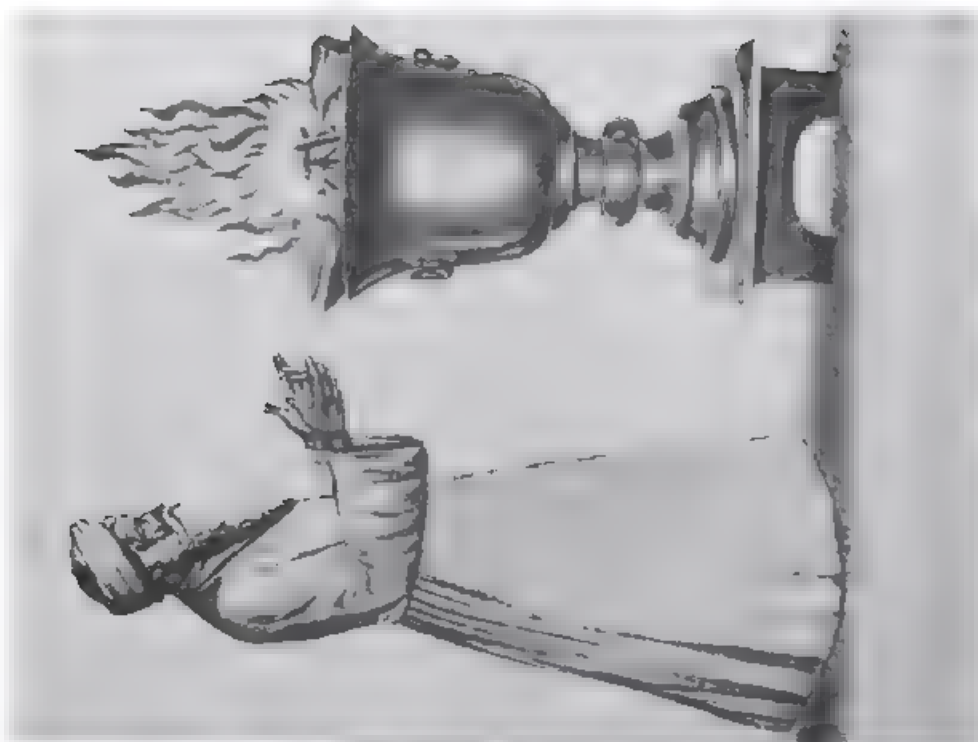
PLATES I-XLVIII



a) Zarathustra



b) Kai Lohrasp and Zarathustra



b) Dastur Na.ryosangh Dhaval (?)



a) Dastur Mcheryj Rana (1535-1591)



a) The 16th Dastur Meherji Rana



c) Dastur Khurshed S. Dabu



b) Dastur Meherji Rana with his wife



a) Ervad Peshotan Framarz Peer



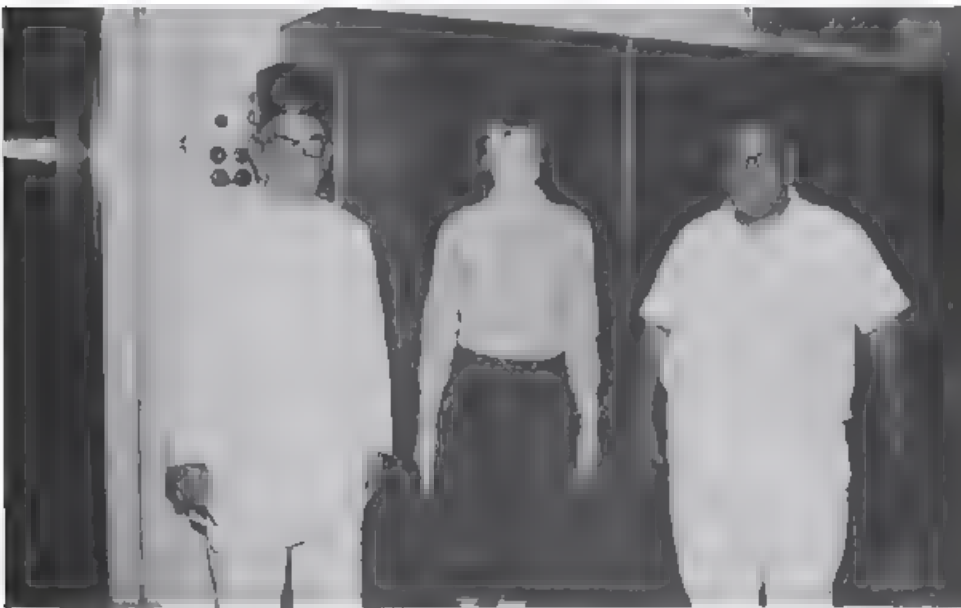
b) Priest winding his turban



c) A newly initiated Ervad



a) Layman drinking water



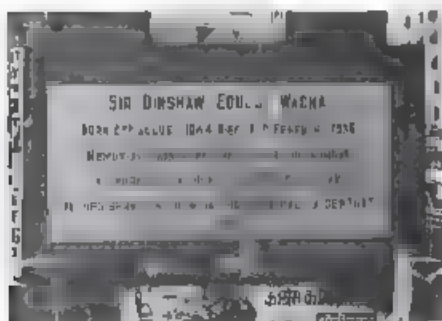
b, The chiefs of the Bombay Samachar



a) Sir Dinshaw Maneckj Petit



b) Dr. Jadabhai Naoroji



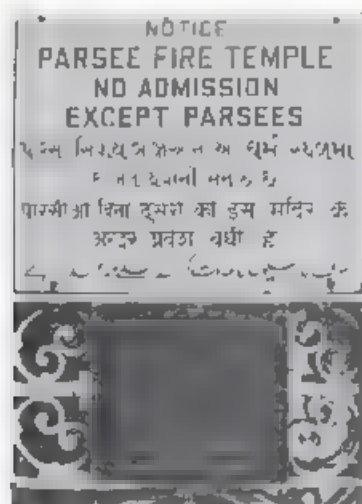
c) Sir Dinshaw Edaj Wacha



d) Merwanji Ramji



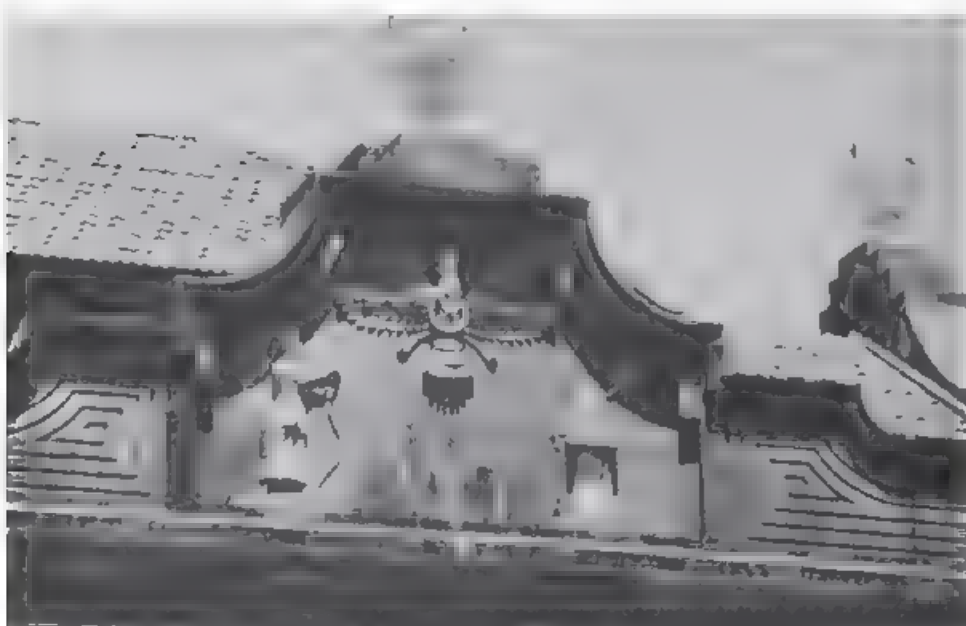
a) The Atash Behram at Udwada



b) Wadia's Atash Behram in Bombay



a) The Atash Behram at Navsari



b) The Atash Behram at Navsari



a) Jarthosti Anjuman Atash Behram



b) Patel Agiari



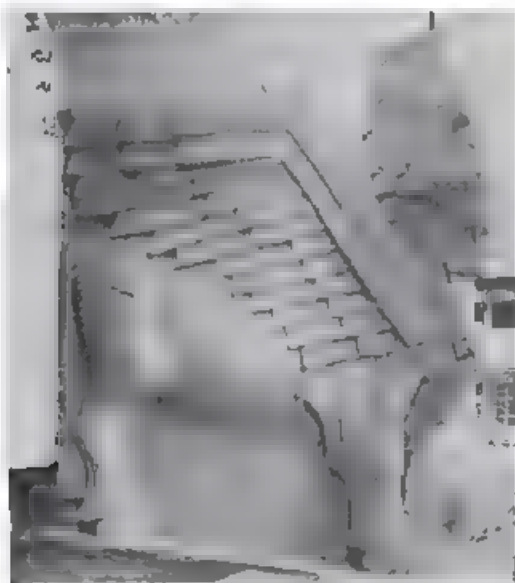
a) Karani Agian



b) Karani Agian



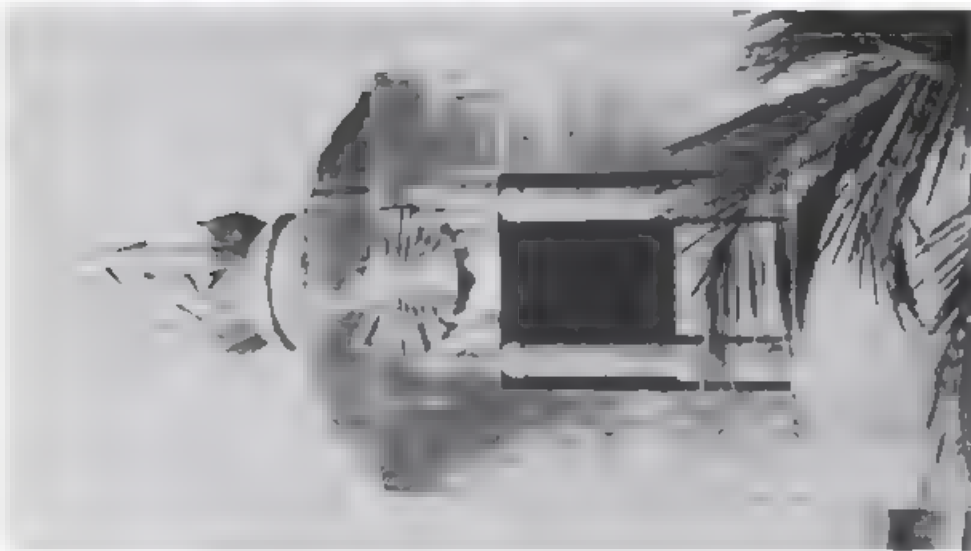
a) Karani Agiar



b) Karani Agiar



b) Petit or Fas Agian



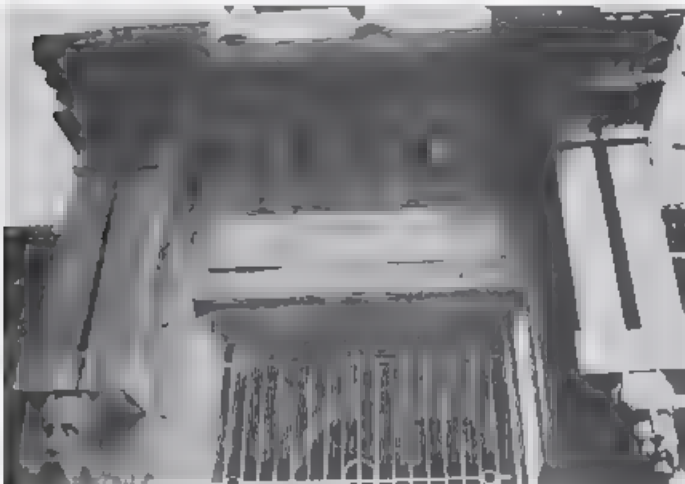
a) Petit or Fas Agian



a) Kappawalla Agari



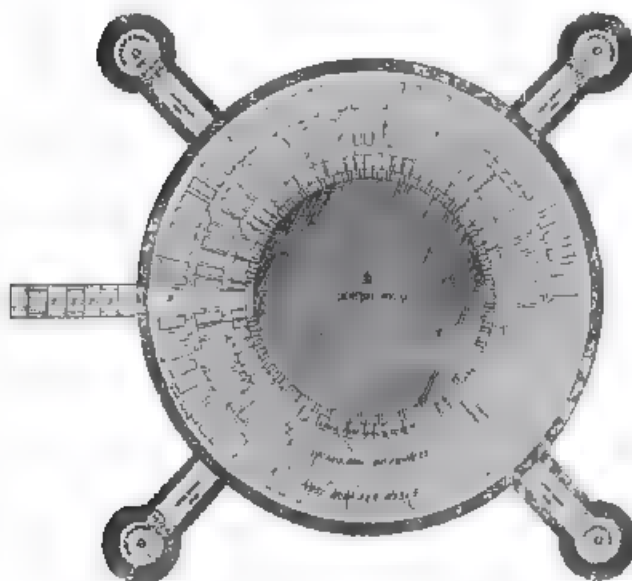
b) Kappawalla Agari



c) Building in front of Maneckji Setu Agari



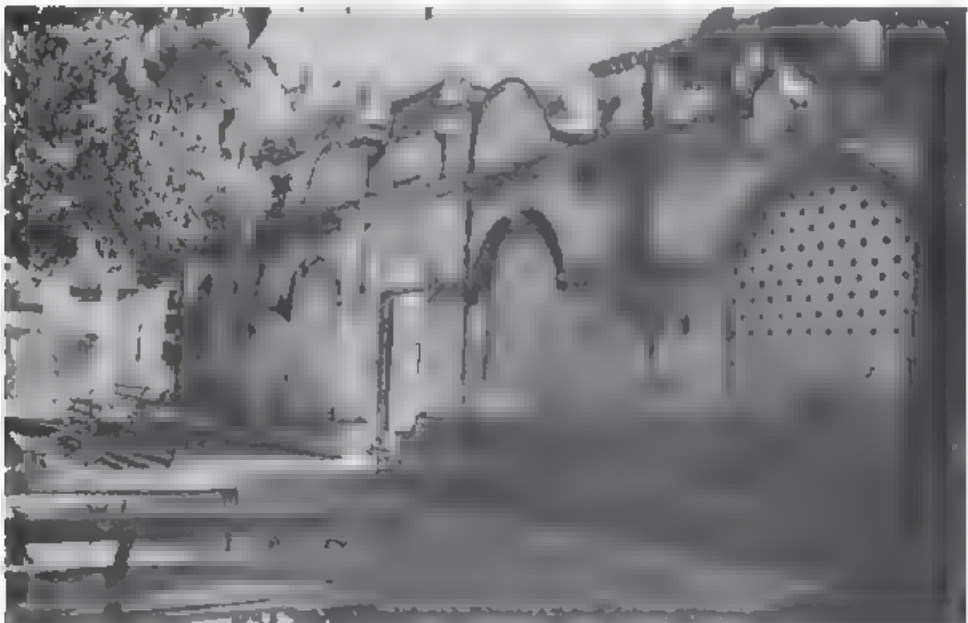
a) Tower of Silence at Navsar.



b) Ground-plan of a Tower of Silence



a) Sage



b) Prayer-hall



a) Sacred white bull in Bombay



b) Sacred white bull at Navsari



a) Fire Temple with well at Navsari



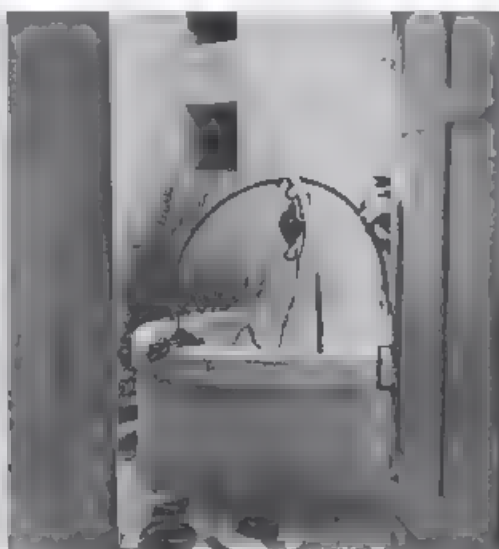
b) Well in a Fire Temple at Navsari



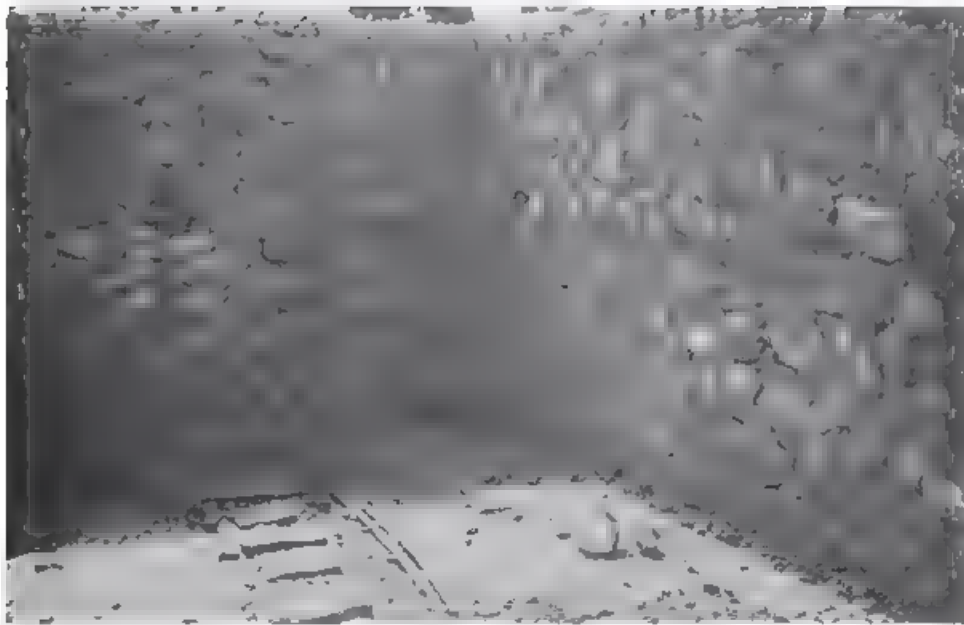
a) Well adjoining Pate Aqta



b) Well adjoining Banaji Atash Behram



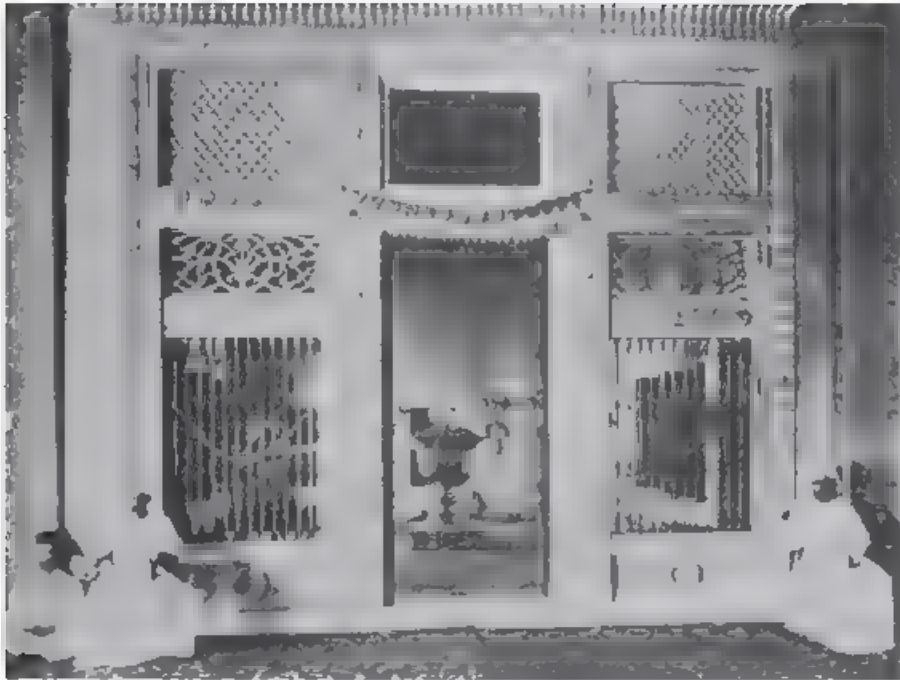
c) Well adjoining Karani Aqta



a) Bareshnum-gah near Pateh Agiari



b) Bareshnum-gah at Navsar



a) The Fire Altar of Wadia's Ash Behram



b) Fire Altar in Iran



a) The bull-headed mace



b) The sceptre



c) The sword



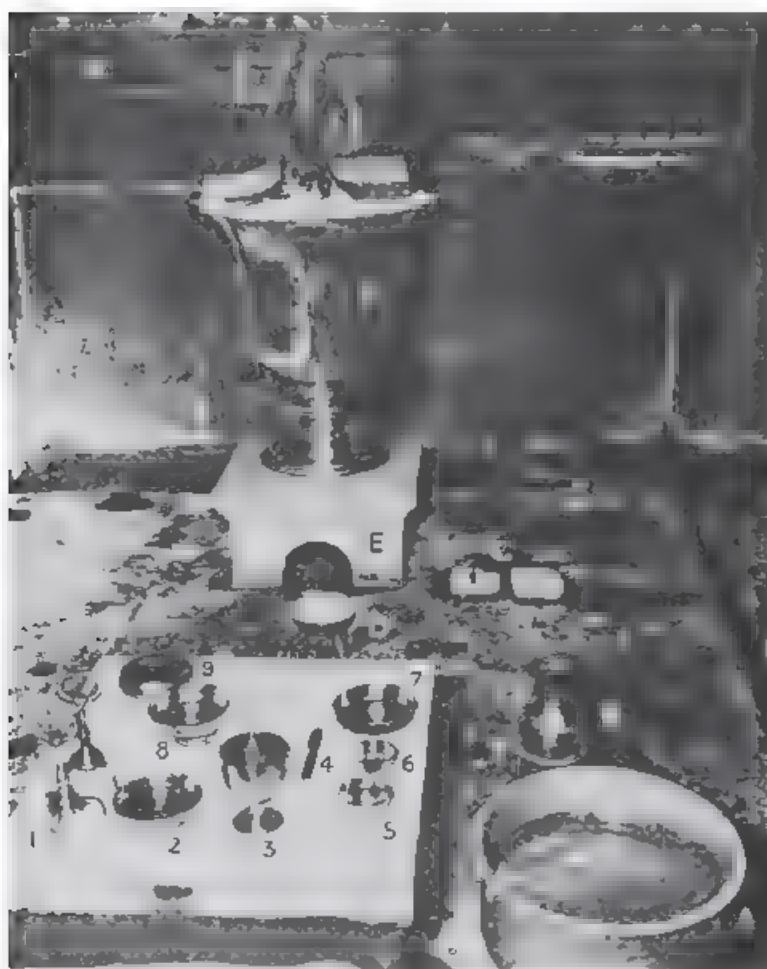
a) The bell



b) The stone slabs



a) Plan of the Interior of a Fire Temple

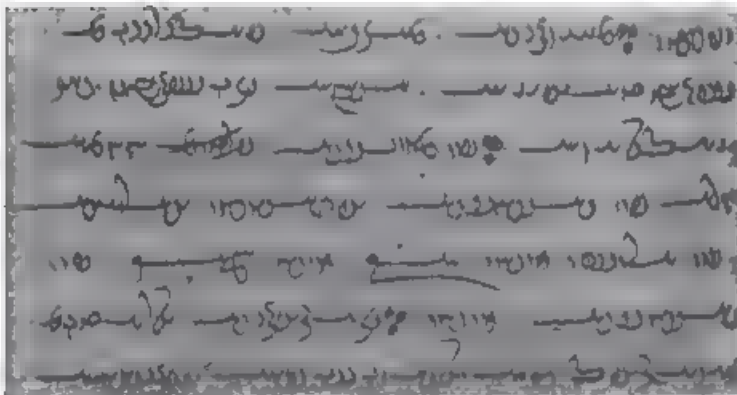


b) The Interior of a Fire Temple with the implements

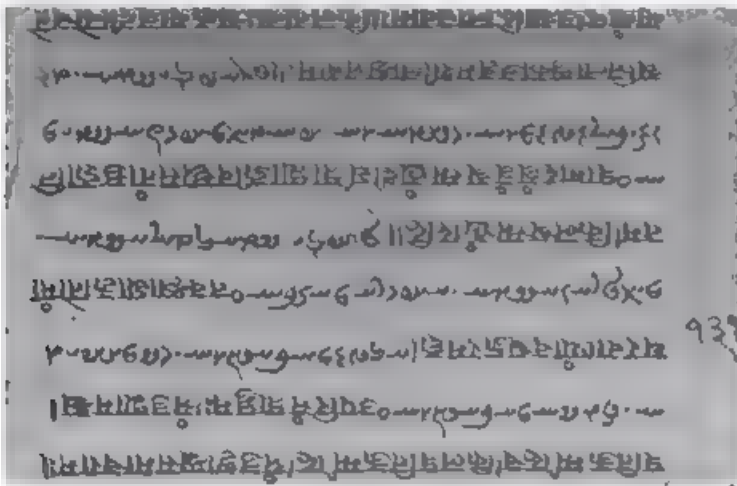
All the liturgical instruments and their positions are arranged on the slab as shown below.



a) Ground-plan for the arrangement of the instruments



b) Avesta text with Pahlavi translation



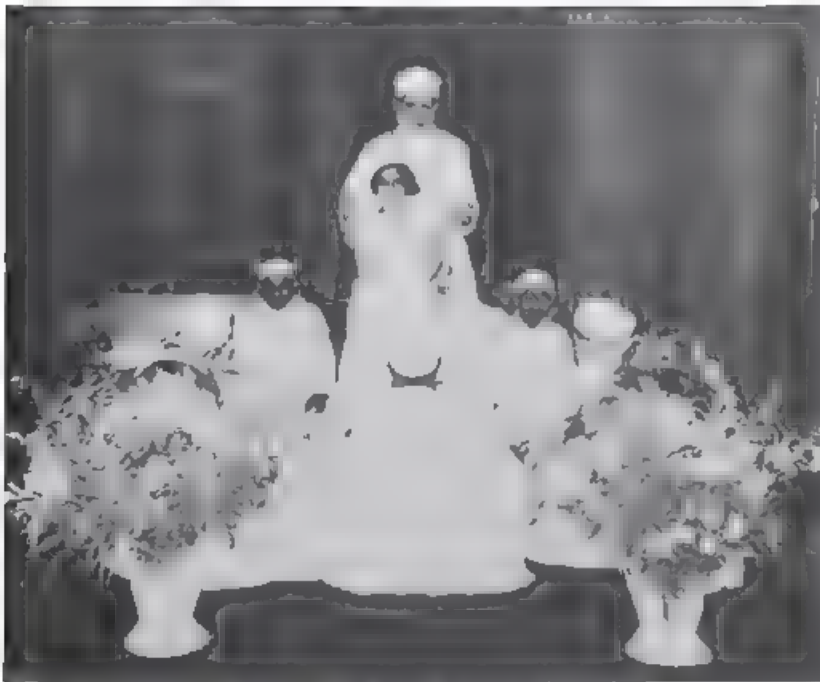
c) Avesta text with Sanskrit translation



a The candidate receives the sudreh



b-c) The priest invests the candidate with the sudreh



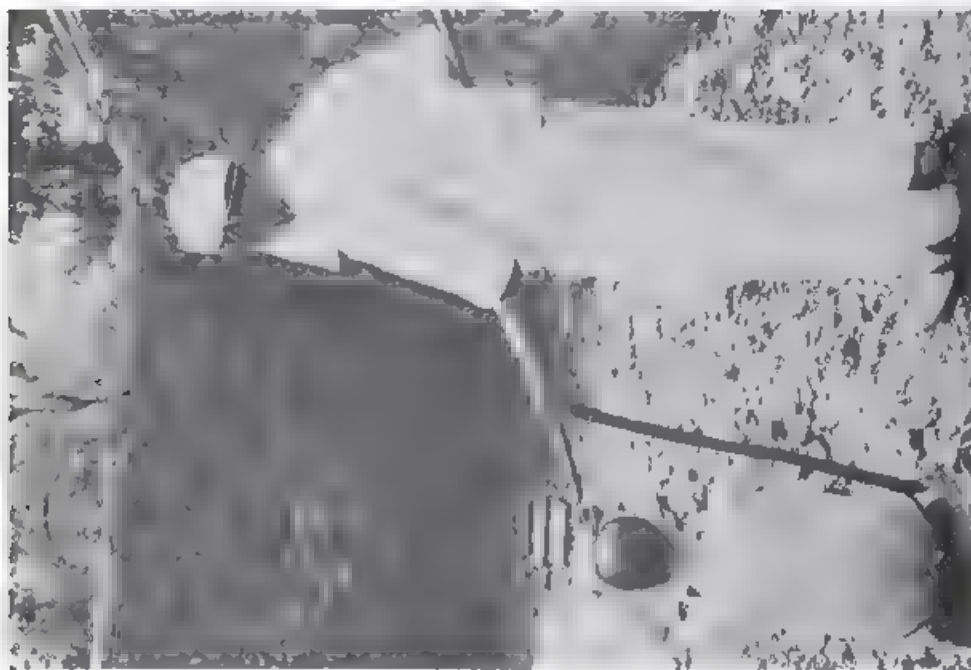
a) Recitation of the sacred formula of tying the kusti



b) Fabrication of the kusti



b) The purification goes on



a) The beginning of the purification



b) The candidate advances



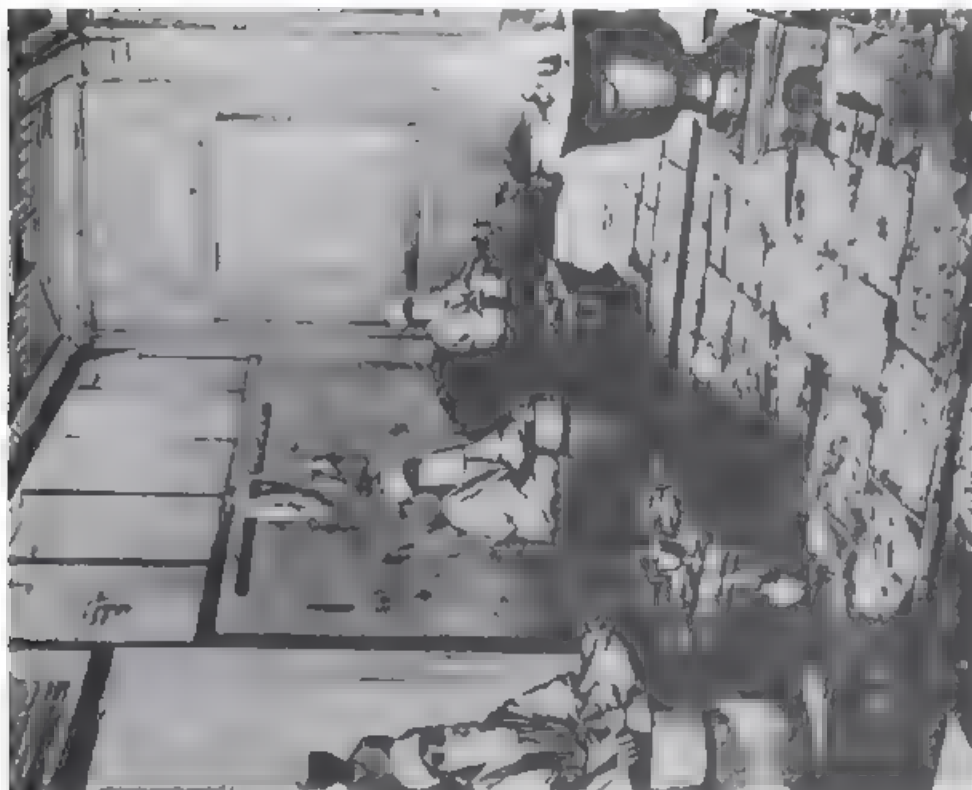
a) The candidate advances



a) The candidate touches the left ear of the dog

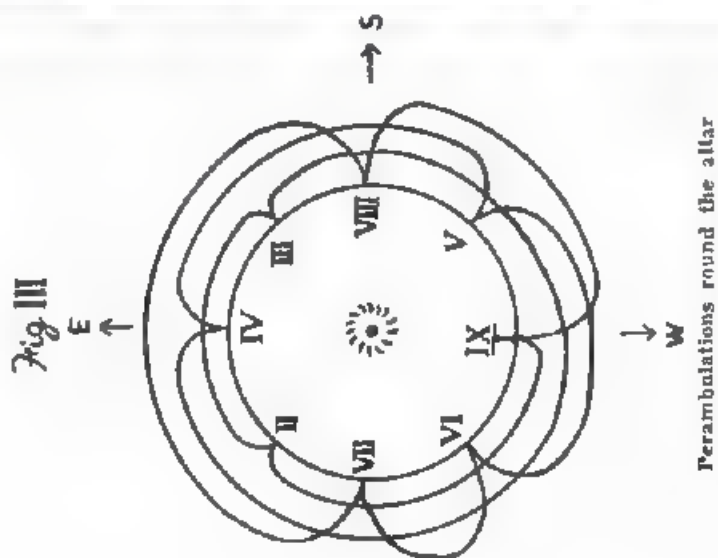


b) The seventh stage- purification by mere sand



b) Three officiating priests

Fig III
RITES AND CUSTOMS



a) Ground-plan of the Bus ceremony



a) The fire is kindled



c) The zot cleans the work table



b) The zot makes the kund pure



a) Details in the preparation of the Haoma juice



b) Details in the preparation of the Haoma juice



a) The new zot purifies his left hand



b) The new zot purifies his right hand



c) He purifies the slab of the Fire



a-b) The *zor* places his right and then his left foot over the seat



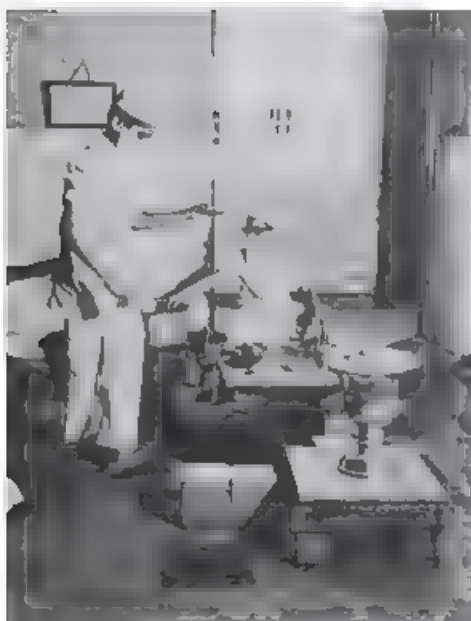
c) The *zor* recites *Yasna II*



a) The zot takes his seat on his stone slab



b) Two other priests during the recitation of Yasna I-II



a) The raspi takes the Haoma juice



b) He places sandalwood on the Fire



c) He hands the Haoma to the zot



d) The zot drinks the Haoma



a) After the drinking of Haoma



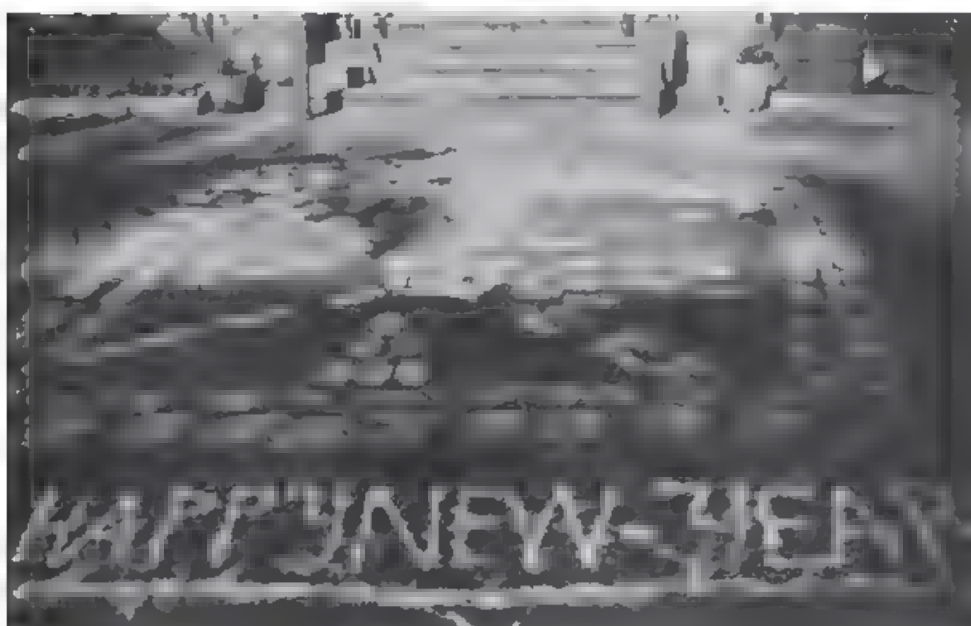
b) The Afrinagan ceremony



c) The Afrinagan ceremony



a) The Aban jashan



b) Naoroz or the New Year's day



a) Marriage



b) Morning prayer at home



a) Bhikha Behram Well



b) Bhikha Behram Well



a) The entrance of Kama Athornan Institute



b) Kama Athornan Institute



a) Lesson in reciting Avesta by heart



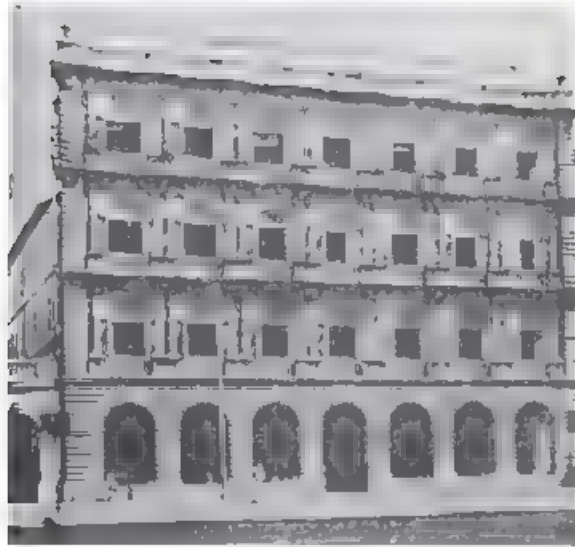
b) Lesson in Pahlavi



a) Prayer before meal



b) Industries outside Kama Athornan Institute



a) The Pars Panchayat



b) Inside the Pars Panchayat



a) K.R. Cama Oriental Institute



b) Parsi colony



a) The Parsi General Hospital



b) The hopeful Baby Care Centre



a) Sir Cawaaji Jehangir Navsari Zarthosti Madresa



b) The Bombay Samachar

BERSERKER

BOOKS

